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ABSTRACT

The NEA Task Force was instructed to "recommend to the Executive Committee a structure and program for the coordination and expansion of the human rights activities of the NEA and of the departments, divisions, commissions, and committees." Their recommendations and a discussion of the forces in American society that make them necessary comprise this report. The introduction explains the relevance of the fight for human rights to the work of the NEA and its members. The first section traces discrimination in institutions against minority groups. The second section describes the role of schools in dealing with the human rights of certain children, teachers, and citizens. The conclusion explains actions that must be taken by the various segments of the educational system to end the infringement on human rights. (Author/MF)

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REPORT

OF THE TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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PREFACE

In July 1967, the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association voted to establish a Special Task Force on Human Rights. The function of the Task Force, as stated in the motion for its creation, was "to recommend to the Executive Committee a structure and program for the coordination and expansion of the human rights activities of the NEA and of the departments, divisions, commissions, and committees."

The members of the Task Force represent many sections of the country and many areas of educational practice. They include classroom teachers, a college professor, supervisory personnel, and staff members of NEA state and local affiliates. These educators are aware that the responsibilities of a human being are not limited by his profession, and that the schools cannot be isolated from other forces in the society. Their first action, therefore, was to define the task by studying the scope and meaning of human rights, not only in education, but in all areas of human life. This study was carried out through careful reading and discussion of such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and relevant statements of the NEA.

After completion of this initial study, the Task Force visited many parts of the country to determine firsthand how human rights are being abridged in our society. In three months, it held eight hearings, in Detroit, Jackson, Los Angeles, Santa Fe, Washington, and Atlanta. Aid in coordination of the hearings was provided by the Michigan Education Association and its Commission on Human Relations, the NEA's Southeast Regional Office, the California Teachers Association—Southern Section, the New Mexico Education Association, and the NEA Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators. The hearings were usually two days in length; testimony was heard for an average of 12 hours each day. Witnesses included classroom teachers; students; principals; parents and other community members; college staff members and students; school board members; system administrative staff members; officers and staff members of the NEA and its state and local affiliates; social workers; community organizers; and representatives of state departments of education and other state agencies, federal agencies, civic and community groups interested in education or human rights, civil rights groups, the police, the news media, and the clergy. During the course of the hearings, the Task Force visited trouble spots which included the Detroit riot area, the Watts district of Los Angeles, and a synagogue in Jackson that had been bombed a short time previously. Its last meeting was held in Washington during the riot which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King.

By the time the hearings were concluded, the Task Force had received ample evidence concerning many kinds of infringements of human rights in education and other areas, and many suggestions about actions necessary to end them. After thorough deliberation, the Task Force formulated recommendations for positive actions the NEA and other appropriate agencies should take to secure the human rights of educators, as well as of the students and communities they serve. Notable among these is the proposed creation of a new unit within the NEA to be responsible for originating and coordinating human rights activities. The recommendations, together with a discussion of the forces in American society which make them necessary, appear in the following report.

The introduction to the report, "Human Rights and the NEA," sets forth the relevance of the fight for human rights to the work of the National Education Association and its members.

The first section of the report, "Certain American Truths," traces the ways in which our nation and its institutions have discriminated against minority groups from the time of the American Revolution to the present.

The second section, "The Educational Institution," describes ways in which the schools of America deal with the human rights of certain children, teachers, and citizens.

The "Recommendations" set forth actions that must be taken by the various segments of the educational institution to end the infringement of human rights.

Copies of the original printing of this report were distributed to delegates at the 1968 meeting of the Representative Assembly of the NEA. The delegates then adopted Resolution 68-21, endorsing the establishment of a Center for Human Relations. The text of the resolution appears on page 89 of this reprint of the report.

During the summer of 1968 the Center was established and began plans and activities to carry out the recommendations of the Task Force on Human Rights. Samuel B. Ethridge was appointed director of the Center and NEA assistant executive secretary for human relations. The new major unit is expanding the dynamic role previously performed for several years by the Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators of the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities.

HOW TO USE THIS REPORT

As part of its work, the Center seeks to stimulate action on

and many other educational and public groups. This reprint of the Task Force report provides valuable background and suggestions for such groups and for individuals interested in fostering equal opportunity for all. It should be of interest to school board members, administrators, curriculum experts, teachers, local and state education association leaders, faculties of teacher preparation institutions, and community and governmental officials.

More specifically, the report may be used as—

Guidebook and basic source for human relations programs of state and local education associations.

Supplementary reading for in-service education programs of a school or school district.

Supplementary reading to college courses in human relations or intergroup education.

Study guide for a faculty self-study group.

Study guide for citizens groups interested in improving conditions in the schools.

Background reading for participants in a human relations workshop or conference.

Resource for personal libraries of educators seriously interested in professional growth, especially as it relates to human relations and intergroup understandings.

CONTENTS

Preface • ii

The NEA Task Force on Human Rights • vi

1. Introduction: The NEA and Human Rights • 1

2. Certain American Truths • 3

3. The Educational Institution • 29

4. Recommendations • 60

5. Appendix • 83

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Introduction:

THE NEA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The National Education Association is one of America's great organizations, representing and being supported by more than one million educators of America's children. As such, the NEA has a crucial interest in human rights—an interest justified on three levels:

Each of the NEA's members is a member of the family of man and as such irrevocably possesses certain natural rights and is bound in social and political contract to respect and protect his own natural rights and those of other human beings.

Each of the NEA's members is a professional educator and as such a shaper of America's destiny through the teaching of her children.

The NEA itself—this coalition of more than a million members—is an organization of considerable national stature and influence. Its responsibilities to its members extend beyond securing proper salary and conditions of employment. It, as an organization, has a responsibility to use the strength of its numbers, its national stature, and its influence to protect the *professional* rights of its members as educators and the *natural* rights of its members as human beings. It also has a responsibility to ensure that its members are meeting their responsibility as professionals and human beings to protect the human rights of others and to ensure the future protection of human rights for all. An organization of the size and potential influence of the NEA has a responsibility to the nation as a whole for promoting social change.

The NEA Representative Assembly has passed resolutions and initiated programs that indicate a steadily increasing awareness of the organization's public responsibility. The Representative Assembly has now also expressed by the convening of this Task Force an awareness that the organization has more responsibility yet to fulfill in the area of human rights.

But even greater than its responsibility to the nation as a whole, the NEA has a responsibility to its members to help them perceive the realities of our society so that they may deal with them in a realistic manner. Most of the abridgements of a minority group's human rights by the majority are possible because of misconceptions of what America actually is, what it has been throughout its history, and what the implications of this are for the various groups that dwell within its shores. There are few problems in human relations whose solutions could not be formulated in the classroom by a competent professional who accurately perceives the realities of American life and has the freedom—through the power of a united profession—to discuss them in a classroom of *any* racial or ethnic composition. This at least would attack the problem of *individual* attitudes and misconceptions and would make adult hypocrisy more difficult.

chapter 1

CERTAIN AMERICAN TRUTHS

America was colonized by people who, in fleeing from repressive governments in lands where their rights were limited or nonexistent, had great reverence for human rights. America was founded upon the recognition that human rights are universal and innate—something a man is born with, not something he can be required to earn. This is the legacy of ideals to the present generation from the fathers of our country. But the present generation of Americans has another legacy from America's past as well—a dismal legacy of discrimination and denial in practice of human rights to certain groups—in violation of the ideals.

THE DISMAL LEGACY

America has paid great homage to the concept of the "melting pot," but the significant fact about the melting pot is that it didn't happen for all. Basically, American institutions have always been white and American society has perceived itself to be white. Our society was willing to accept different peoples into it as economic necessity arose—but in numbers insufficient to alter the white, Anglo-Saxon character of the society. Integration in America has always meant the assimilation and absorption of a relatively few individuals into the mainstream—where they disappeared; it has never meant the unification of another culture or community with the dominant one. The choice open to members of a disparate culture or community is to assimilate and disappear or to be isolated and relegated to second-class citizenship—or no citizenship at all in the case of the First Americans. The Dawes

Act (1887), for example, made it legally possible for individual Indians to assimilate into white American society if they were willing to leave the reservation and give up their reservation property. The dominant white society of America has always had two solutions for dealing with a different culture in its midst: either dissolve the community or isolate it.

The minority cultures that constitute separate, identifiable communities are the American Indians, the Mexican-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Southern Appalachian whites, and the Negro Americans. The attitude of the dominant society toward the first four of these groups varies by region, by the size of the minority cultural group, and by its history within the American civilization. The Indians and the Mexican-Americans are still suffering the effects of having been conquered peoples—victims of America's period of colonialism in the nineteenth century.

> The westward spread of settlement in the United States [was] imperialistic, reaching a strong expression in the American idea of manifest destiny. . . . At its best, . . . imperialism brought economic expansion and new standards of official administration and public health to native countries; at its worst, it meant brutal exploitation and inhumanity. In every instance, however, the pressure of an alien culture and the imposition of new forms of social organization meant the breakdown of traditional forms of life and the disruption of native civilization.[1]

Imperialism also instills in the mind of the conqueror the conviction that the conquered are an inferior species of humanity:

> People have labeled the Indian in terms of the relationship which the Anglo has had with him. When the colonists came to New England and needed the help and support of the Indians who befriended them—taught them to plant and loaned them food from their storehouses—the settlers named these kind people "Noble Savages."
>
> Later, in the settling of this country, Anglo-Americans wanted the lands of the First Americans. Because the Indians felt called upon to defend their own homelands they became known as "Treacherous Savages." In due course, the Anglo-Americans dominated the entire country; the Indians were incarcerated in reservations, subservient to the operational procedures of Anglo officials. As they became dependent upon and submitted to Anglo decision-making, they were more than once referred to as "Filthy Savages."[2]

The purpose of American expansion was, of course, to gain lands for the burgeoning needs of the new country; it is not surprising, therefore, that the right of the conquered peoples to the ownership of their property was ignored.

> The Anglo had technical, legal ways of establishing ownership of land, and the fact that one had lived there for generations did not prevent his eviction by court order. Spanish land grants which were to be respected forever and which had passed down through family inheritance were taken legally from Spanish families by greedy speculators. Stock-raising corporations leased land, over-grazed it, took their profits, and left.[3]

The human rights of these two groups, the American Indians and the Mexican-Americans, are still unrealized in many cases—at least in those cases where they remain a clearly identifiable group or community. The assumption of Anglo supremacy prevails.

The American saga is replete with expressions of homage to the ideals of universal human rights. Americans were proud of the melting pot ideal. All who wished to be free could come to America's cities.

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." The concept of the melting pot has survived generations of deliberate exclusionary immigration policies. Each succeeding wave of immigrants was accepted generously—until their numbers became such as to threaten dilution of the Anglo-Saxon dominance of the institutions and the race. The exclusionary laws indicate an enormous racial and ethnic bias in favor of Northern Europeans and against all others, particularly members of other races.

Immigration of Chinese to the West Coast, although it hastened the development of the area, was greeted with a long series of race riots which ended only with passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882). The provisions of this act, which had been designed to end the influx of Chinese coolies, were eventually extended to exclude other classes of immigrants.

When westward expansion ended and labor became organized, a movement to restrict further European immigration developed. Various elements of the population argued that—

- Unrestricted immigration of unskilled laborers could lower wages and the standard of living.

- Because their political, social, and religious loyalties made them difficult to assimilate, immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans endangered American institutions.
- Concentration of recent immigrants in urban centers delayed their adoption of the American culture.
- Immigration might result in population explosion.
- Further admixture could cause physical deterioration of the American stock.

As a result of this movement, the first legislation restricting immigration on the basis of ethnic origin was passed in 1917: Immigration from southwestern Asia was prohibited.

In 1921, the "National Origins Act" was passed to restrict immigration from postwar Europe.

In 1924, the annual quota for European immigration was reduced to 2 percent of the number of each country's natives who lived in the United States in 1890—thus favoring the Northern European peoples—and all aliens not eligible for citizenship were excluded. Thus the Japanese in particular, and all other Asiatics as well, were excluded.

In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed and a small quota for Chinese immigrants was established.

In 1952, the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act (the McCarran-Walter Act) strengthened the national and ethnic bias of the quota system.

The newest arrivals in America's cities are the Puerto Ricans, the Southern Appalachians, and the Negroes. The reaction of the older inhabitants toward the first two groups is in the traditional mold of suspicion, fear, and resentment.

> To be sure, it is not Negroes alone who find the move painful. In New York, the Puerto Rican population has swelled from perhaps 100,000 in 1940 to over 700,000 in 1960; with this increase has come a host of social problems. And Cincinnati, Baltimore, St. Louis, Columbus, Detroit, and Chicago, among other cities, receive a steady stream of impoverished white hillbillies from the Southern Appalachian Mountains. These Appalachian whites—the oldest and purest Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States—have at least as much initial difficulty adjusting to the city as do the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. . . .
>
> It is the explosive growth of their Negro populations, however, that constitute the large cities' principal problem and

> concern. The Puerto Rican and Appalachian whites affect only a limited number of cities, usually only in a limited way; but every city has a large and growing Negro population. . . . There is no large city . . . which does not have a large and potentially explosive Negro problem.[4]

Each new immigrant group to America's large cities was ghettoized in the slums and was poor. But members of the immigrant groups—even the Puerto Ricans, who are not Anglo-Saxon—who acquired some wealth have been able more or less to disappear, thus following the American assimilation ideal.

> Even with a Ph.D., a Nobel Prize, a Congressional Medal of Honor or a vast fortune, a Negro is still a "nigger" to many (most?) white Americans and the society does not let him forget it for very long.[5]

> The feeling of race solidarity on the part of whites led to a contempt for the Negro and the classification of all who had any drop of Negro blood with those who were entirely black.[6]

Thus, assimilation for the Negro in America has been impossible; he cannot change his name and move to the suburbs, or go to California and become "Old Spanish." Negroes, although they share the common curse of poverty with the Indians, the Mexicans, and the Appalachians, differ from them in America's eyes because they are black.

THE "CONGENITAL DEFECT": SLAVERY

> *Slavery was the "congenital defect" with which this nation was born; the depth and persistence of racist attitudes of white Americans go back to slavery, whose shadow is still very much with us.*[7]

> The most perplexing question about American slavery, which has never been altogether explained, and which indeed most Americans hardly know exists, has been stated by Nathan Glazer as follows: "Why was American slavery the most awful the world has ever known?" The only thing that can be said with certainty is that this is true: it was.

> American slavery was profoundly different from, and in its lasting effects on individuals and their children, indescribably worse than, any recorded servitude, ancient or

> modern. The peculiar nature of American slavery was noted by Alexis de Tocqueville and others, but it was not until 1948 that Frank Tannenbaum, a South American specialist, pointed to the striking differences between Brazilian and American slavery. The feudal Catholic society of Brazil had a legal and religious tradition which accorded the slave a place as a human being in the hierarchy of society—a luckless, miserable place, to be sure, but a place withal. In contrast, there was nothing in the tradition of English law or Protestant theology which could accommodate to the fact of human bondage—the slaves were therefore reduced to the status of chattels—often, no doubt, well cared for, even privileged chattels, but chattels nevertheless.[8]

Nathan Glazer discusses in detail the differences between Brazilian and American slavery.

> In Brazil, the slave had many more rights than in the United States: he could legally marry, he could, indeed had to, be baptized and become a member of the Catholic Church, his family could not be broken up for sale, and he had many days on which he could either rest or earn money to buy his freedom. The Government encouraged manumission, and the freedom of infants could often be purchased for a small sum at the baptismal font. In short: the Brazilian slave knew he was a man, and that he differed in degree, not in kind, from his master.[9]
>
> [In the United States,] the slave was totally removed from the protection of organized society (compare the elaborate provisions for the protection of slaves in the Bible), his existence as a human being was given no recognition by any religious or secular agency, he was totally ignorant of and completely cut off from his past, and he was offered absolutely no hope for the future. His children could be sold, his marriage was not recognized, his wife could be violated or sold (there was something comic about calling the woman with whom the master permitted him to live a "wife"), and he could also be subject without redress, to frightful barbarities. . . . The slave could not, by law, be taught to read or write; he could not practice any religion without the permission of his master, and could never meet with his fellows, for religious or any other purposes, except in the presence of a white; and finally, if a master wished to free him, every legal obstacle was used to thwart such action.[10]

For the North American colonists to own slaves, it was necessary that slavery take this form. These colonists believed in the natural equality of man: they were therefore forced to view, and treat, their slaves as less than human. The consequences of this view, and this treatment, persist today.

FREE AT LAST?

Less than a century ago, America's population was largely rural and America's economy was largely agricultural. But the industrial revolution, two World Wars, the decline in agricultural employment resulting from the automation of farming, and the transfer of the land from the family farm to the giant farm corporation have changed America's face and created the "great city."

Forced off the land by drought, the boll weevil, the farm machine, and foreclosing plantation owners, millions of people have left home, relatives, and heritage with despair of the past and hope for the future to seek a better life—or just a living—in America's great cities. By far the greatest proportion of these migrants have been the Southern Negroes.

> Going to New York was good-bye to cotton fields, good-bye to "Massa Charlie," good-bye to the chain gang, and, most of all, good-bye to those sunup-to-sundown working hours. One no longer had to wait to get to heaven to lay his burden down; burdens could be laid down in New York.
>
> So, they came, from all parts of the South, like all the black chillun o' God following the sound of Gabriel's horn on that long-overdue Judgment Day. . . .
>
> Even while planning the trip, they sang spirituals [like] "Jesus Take My Hand" and "I'm On My Way" and chanted, "Hallelujah, I'm on my way to the promised land!"
>
> [But] it seems that Cousin Willie, in his lying haste, had neglected to tell the folks down home about one of the most important aspects of the promised land: it was a slum ghetto.[11]

The *Columbia Encyclopedia* describes what the Negro migrants found in the cities:

> Accommodations were poor and costly in comparison with similar quarters rented to whites. Sanitary conditions were bad, and Negro mortality ran high above the average for the rest of the population.[12]

Portrait of a Slum

The Negro poor who migrated to the cities were confined to a clearly delineated area in the oldest, most deteriorated section of the city, the area closed off from other residential sections of the city by the encircling industrial and commercial areas. Here were—and still are—not only the city's oldest houses, schools, and government buildings, but also railroad sidings and aging factories and warehouses which, together with traffic conditions, make it the area of densest air pollution.

The middle class abandoned this inner city to those who had nowhere else to go—Negroes from the rural South, Appalachian mountaineers, and immigrants from Mexico, Cuba, or Puerto Rico. As the numbers of poor people in this area grew and its boundaries only very slowly and painfully expanded, the population density became such as to offer about one square foot of land area per person—sometimes less—and that included the streets, sidewalks, stores, and such playgrounds as there might be. In the inner city, the hunger, the cold, the crowded dwellings, and the hopelessness of rural poverty is compounded by the fact that the environment is as congested outside the home as within. There are people in the halls and on the stairs; when it is not too cold, there are people on the stoop and on the fire escape. There is nowhere to go.

In this area, generally called a "slum," the schools need replacement or renovation; they lack campuses or play areas, or they have only blacktopped playgrounds located directly on the street. These are the schools, nearly as old as the city itself, which are the educational legacy of the fleeing middle class to the poor.

The schools mirror the quality of every other facet of life in the inner city. Here slum lords reign supreme, unaffected by legal or other governmental agencies: as in the rural slums, many of the dwellings do not meet minimum standards of health and safety, and comfort is beyond expectation. Outhouses, iceboxes, coal and wood stoves, and gas heaters are still in use; where lavatories exist, they are adjacent to the kitchen. Rats are constant companions. Yet here the rent is higher than for comparable space in other parts of the city, and financing for the purchase of a home is more expensive, if it is obtainable at all. Displacement is an inevitable fact of life; homes are destroyed and people swept aside to make way for superhighways, apartments for the middle class, or complexes of civic and office buildings serving the middle class.

A proliferation of neighborhood merchants markets inferior foodstuffs and merchandise at prices often higher than elsewhere; much of the business establishment consists of pawnshops and small loan offices, bars, pool halls, and liquor stores. Bright signs proclaim discount prices or "going-out-of-business" sales to hawk "irregulars," "seconds," or even "thirds." Yet affluence is next door. The poor people of the urban or rural slum can share it vicariously through the mass media, or as domestic or service workers; they cannot participate in it.

The poor have no stake in the good things of the affluent society; therefore the values of that society have never been given meaning to them. In the inner city, for example, survival is more likely to be crime related than elsewhere—and crime is more often related to survival. Petty larceny, prostitution, numbers, and narcotics pushing are in many cases the only means of livelihood open to those whom the institutions of society provide neither the knowledge nor the opportunity to earn a living wage, and sex, narcotics, and alcohol are the only refuges from despair. Because of the frequency of crime, insurance—of home, of property, or of person—is more expensive, if it is available at all. The municipal government has ceased to maintain more than the most minimal level of public services—police protection, fire protection, public transportation, street cleaning, and garbage collection. The regulations and the employees of public service institutions reflect the attitude that the poor people in slum areas do not matter, because they do not have the power to influence societal institutions. Leaders in slum areas, taking their cue from other segments of society, are frequently guilty of exploiting those for whom they purport to speak. Because they are powerless, the people of the inner city—like the poor everywhere—are ignored, insulted, subjected to indignities, and sometimes beaten or murdered by public employees. Votes can be bought for a bottle of wine, for $2 or perhaps $5: because they have always been without power and thus virtually disenfranchised, the poor do not seek redress through the democratic process.

Housing

Today, after more than three decades of fragmented and grossly under-funded federal housing programs, decent

> housing remains a chronic problem for the disadvantaged urban household. Fifty-six percent of the country's nonwhite families live in central cities today, and of these, nearly two-thirds live in neighborhoods marked by substandard housing and general urban blight.
>
> For these citizens, condemned by segregation and poverty to live in the decaying slums of our central cities, the goal of a decent home and suitable environment is as far distant as ever. . . .
>
> Nationwide, 25 percent of all nonwhites living in central cities occupied substandard units in 1960 compared to 8 percent of all whites. . . .
>
> Negroes, on the average, also occupy much older housing than whites. In each of ten metropolitan areas analyzed by the Commission, substantially higher percentages of nonwhites than whites occupied units built prior to 1939. . . .
>
> Finally, Negro housing units are far more likely to be overcrowded than those occupied by whites. In U.S. metropolitan areas in 1960, 25 percent of all nonwhite units were overcrowded by the standard measure. . . . Only 8 percent of all white-occupied units were in this category. Moreover, 11 percent of all nonwhite-occupied units were seriously overcrowded . . . compared with 2 percent for white-occupied units. . . .
>
> Negroes in large cities are often forced to pay the same rents as whites and receive less for their money, or pay higher rents for the same accommodations. . . . The combination of high rents and low incomes forces many Negroes to pay an excessively high proportion of their incomes for housing.[13]
>
> *The city has become literally as well as symbolically the polluter of man. And in defiling his social environment, he of course befouls himself, drawing back into his own being all the refuse and decay he has spewn about him.*
>
> *The city arose as a citadel, a refuge from external danger. Now it is in the process of becoming one of the primary threats to civilized existence.*[14]

Health

One of the inevitable products of the congestion in human living and the cavalier attitude of the municipal authorities toward sanitation service in the ghetto is the rat, the symptom of decay and the symbol of degradation. The Commission on Civil Disorders reports that in one year there were more than 14,000 cases of rat bite in the United States, most of them in slum ghettoes.[14]

> I was living in one apartment, the rats got in bed with me and my sister is still living in the same building and the rats are jumping up and down. The kids they play with the rats like a child would play with a dog or something. They chase them around the house and things like this.[15]

Many babies, bitten in their cribs, die not of the disease carried by the attacking animal but of bleeding to death from the artery severed by the bite.

> The major socio-economic groups inhabit different worlds and . . . illness is the result of the interaction of the organism with its total environment. No matter if medical facilities were equal, the human organisms that are to avail themselves of the facilities have already been influenced and insidiously shaped by the harsh inequalities of their respective worlds. Their food, housing, disorder, space, light, noise, fatigue, recreation, privacy, intelligence, self-esteem, and every other aspect of their lives bear the stratified manner of their class.[17]

Infant mortality rates among Negro babies less than one month of age are 58 percent higher than among whites; they are almost three times as high among those from one month to one year old.

DEATHS PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS

	Less than one month		One month to one year	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1965	16.1	25.4	5.4	14.9

Maternal mortality rates for Negro mothers are 4 times as high as those for white mothers.

Life expectancy for whites is 6.9 years longer than for Negroes.[18]

The rate of death from pneumonia per 100,000 persons among Navajos is 123.5; in the United States as a whole, it is 23.7. The rate of death from gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis among Navajos is 110.2; the United States average is 5.3. The infant mortality rate among Navajos is 102.3; the United States average is 39.4. The death rate from tuberculosis among Navajos is 53.0; the United States average is 10.5. One project studying a Navajo community for a three-year period found an infant mortality rate of 73.1 per 1,000 live births; the United States average during that period was 26.

According to the U.S. Public Health Service, "Nearly a fifth of all deaths among these groups result from infectious diseases which long have been under control in the general population." "Many health problems of New Mexico's people are closely related to their economic situation. There are many substandard houses with inadequate sanitary facilities. Not only may water be very scarce, but it may be from contaminated sources." [19]

The effects of poverty on health make it more likely that the poor will be unemployed or underemployed, and therefore more likely that they will remain poor.

> From the standpoint of health, poverty means deficient diets, lack of medical care, inadequate shelter and clothing. . . . As a result about 30 percent of all families with incomes less than $2,000 per year suffer from chronic health conditions that adversely affect their employment —as compared with less than 8 percent of the families with incomes of $7,000 or more.[20]

> *We are involved in nothing less than distributing the chances for physical and mental well-being on the morally invidious basis of economic class.*[21]

Employment

There are no longer many jobs available for the unskilled and semiskilled, and the number is shrinking annually. What a man can do with his back, John Henry notwithstanding, a machine can do faster and cheaper. Industry and construction are moving out of the center city and into the suburban and beltway areas—exactly where the Negroes and the poor are not.

Unemployment rates for Negroes are still double those for whites in every category.

> [Seventy-one percent of] Negro workers are concentrated in the lowest-skilled and lowest-paying occupations. These jobs often involve substandard wages, great instability and uncertainty of tenure, extremely low status in the eyes of both employer and employee, little or no chance for meaningful advancement, and unpleasant duties.[22]

> The movement toward economic equality which had shown some progress during the Second World War has ceased, and in some measure even regressed. Though the general level of well-being has certainly improved, its distribution remains grossly distorted. The lowest fifth of the population received 4.5 percent of total personal income in 1960, while the highest fifth received 46 percent, and the highest 5 percent of those a full 20 percent. . . . From 1953 to 1960 the share of personal income of the highest fifth increased from 44.7 to 45.7 percent, while the share of the three lowest fifths actually declined 4 percent and the lowest quintile decreased from 4.9 to 4.5 percent.[23]
>
> Half of the lowest fifth is Negro.
>
> Contrary to popular impression, the Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to that of whites. . . . The median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962.[24]
>
> A non-white man must have between one and three years of college before he can expect to earn as much as a white man with less than eight years of schooling, over the course of their respective working lives. *Moreover, even after completing college and spending at least one year in graduate school, a non-white man can expect to do about as well as a white person who only completed high school.*[25]

Because employment often is closed to the poor, whether or not they are qualified, many are forced to live on welfare. But welfare is no free passage to the good life. Welfare is far from free to the recipient, and the life it barely makes possible could hardly be described as good.

> [The welfare system] provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a humane level of existence and imposes restrictions that encourage continued dependency on welfare and undermines self-respect. . . .
>
> [Payments] range from $9.30 per AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] recipient monthly in Mississippi to a high of $62.55 in New York. In fiscal year 1967, the total annual cost of the AFDC program, including Federal, state and local contributions, was approximately $2 billion, providing an average of about $36 monthly for each recipient. . . .
>
> In most states benefits are available only when a parent is absent from the home. Thus, in these states an un-

> employed father whose family needs public assistance in order to survive, must either abandon his family or see them go hungry.[26]

Nine percent of all Negro families are headed by a woman and include children under six years of age. The incidence of poverty in this group is 81 percent. The National Commission on Civil Disorders reported that "in 1965, 1.2 million nonwhite children under 16 lived in central city families headed by a woman under 65. The great majority of these children were growing up in poverty under conditions that make them better candidates for crime and civil disorder than for jobs providing an entry into American society." [27]

> Unquestionably, the gloomy statistics on black unemployment, income, housing and disease create the general framework for despair—statistics which the Negro must read against the background of a decade of both unprecedented national civil rights activity and unprecedented national prosperity. The black community clearly sees itself getting a progressively smaller share of the pie as the pie itself grows ever larger.[28]
>
> We know what widespread unemployment means in terms of human misery; we must not overlook its contributions to social upheaval. The evil that was Hitler's and the destruction which he wrought on Western civilization had many roots, but none more important than the desperation of the German masses growing out of their prolonged unemployment. They were willing to follow any man who promised them work—even if the work was in munitions and aircraft factories. Much as they feared war, the Germans feared unemployment more.[29]
>
> *Men will willingly gamble their own lives and the future of their society on radical change if their only alternative is to sit in idleness and see their hopes and dreams ground into nothing.*[30]

Crime

The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia recently reported on the causes of crime.

> A man without a job, the Crime Commission said, is more likely to commit a crime than a man who works. He becomes alienated from the affluent society not far from his slum home. He fails to support his family. His children look down on him. He becomes "discouraged and

> hostile." As a result, the Commission said, "He may turn to crime both as a means of self-assertion and as a source of funds."[31]
>
> Ours is a society that places a high value on the accumulation of wealth. . . . Delinquent or criminal behavior is engaged in by many who seek to achieve what society values highly but who are unable to do so through socially approved routes.[32]
>
> The poor recognize their helplessness. They are well aware that they possess few weapons to go up against the power structure. . . . In a profound sense poverty is a dearth of choice. The poor have few alternatives of action at any level. They cannot invest in the system and any payoffs they may receive are outside the system. . . . The overwhelming majority of persons termed "poor," "culturally deprived," "culturally differentiated," "the victims of poverty," or preferably the "culturally alienated," did not suddenly arrive at this unhappy condition. The overwhelming majority were born into it and are scheduled to die in it.[33]
>
> What is amazing, given the environment in which they live, is not that so many young people become delinquent and criminal, but that so few do. . . . The contribution of the schools to delinquency by failing to prepare young people effectively for the tasks of adulthood cannot be overestimated.[34]

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders reported:

> In 1966, persons under 25 years of age comprised the following proportions of those arrested for various major crimes: murder, 37 percent; forcible rape, 64 percent; robbery, 71 percent; burglary, 81 percent; larceny, about 77 percent; and auto theft, over 89 percent.
>
> Variations in the crime rate against persons within the city are extremely large. One very low income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as did the high income white district. . . . Both income and race appear to affect crime rates: the lower the income in an area, the higher the crime rate there. Yet low income Negro areas have significantly higher crime rates than low income white areas. This reflects . . . the fact that poor Negroes as a group have lower incomes than poor whites as a group.[35]

It also reflects the hopelessness of the Negro poor in American society.

A 1963 analysis of crime statistics in Baltimore, Maryland, by the University of Maryland School of Social Work, was reported in the NEA Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission report of the Baltimore public schools. It found that crime was concentrated in the inner-city ghetto areas and found that the crime rate in Baltimore was associated with common indicators of social disorganization—low income; unemployment; overcrowded housing; low educational achievement; small numbers of school years completed; high infant mortality rate; and high incidence of tuberculosis, syphilis, and gonorrhea.

> Crime, as it was defined by the University of Maryland study, was measured in two ways—reported offenses and number of arrests. A full 70 percent of the 54,212 arrests made in Baltimore were for "disorderly conduct, drunkenness, and miscellaneous minor crimes," and an additional 3,643 persons were arrested "on suspicion": *75 percent of all police activity in Baltimore is devoted to the control of "nuisance behavior" in the slums.* [Italics added.] [36]

The Riot Commission reports that "for all index crimes together, the arrest rate for Negroes is about four times higher than that for whites." [37] Negroes are therefore four times more likely than whites to be imprisoned—lose their liberty—without due process of the law by being the victims of the inequities in the bail system.

These inequities are varied and serious. In New York City, for example, professional bondsmen are the source of almost all bail.

> A bond may cost about 10 percent of the face value of the bond. This money, of course, must be paid whether the accused appears or not. If an accused is forced to use a professional bondsman is he not faced with punishment before guilt is established? He must either pay the bond or must stay in jail until the time of trial. A first offender may have to pay a bondsman more than a well-established crook. . . . Detention prior to trial was found to be quite extended in many cases. In over 45 percent of the non-bail cases, the prisoner was detained over 100 days. . . . About half of all felony defendants are deprived of their freedom before trial and verdict.[38]

According to a Supreme Court opinion in the case of *Stack* vs. *Boyle* (1951),

> First. From the passage of the Judiciary Act of 1789 . . . to the present Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure . . .

> federal law has unequivocally provided that a person arrested for a non-capital offense *shall* be admitted to bail. This traditional right to freedom before conviction permits the unhampered preparation of a defense, and serves to prevent the infliction of punishment prior to conviction. . . . Unless this right to bail before trial is preserved, the presumption of innocence, secured only after centuries of struggle, would lose its meaning.
>
> The practice of admission to bail, as it has evolved in Anglo-American law, is not a device for keeping persons in jail upon mere accusation until it is found convenient to give them a trial. On the contrary, the spirit of the procedure is to enable them to stay out of jail until a trial has found them guilty. . . . Admission to bail always involves a risk that the accused will take flight. That is a calculated risk which the law takes as a price of our system of justice. We know that Congress anticipated that bail would enable some escapes, because it provided a procedure for dealing with them.[39]

The *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* comments,

> As long as the yardstick for determining what constitutes excessive bail is the range within which bail is "usually set" for comparable offences, there will be defendants who are denied pre-trial release. The only resolution of the clash between bail and defendants' rights is to abandon the necessity of bail for defendants who are financially unable to obtain it, and if society can afford to take this risk with indigents, it can take it with all defendants.[40]

Equal protection of the law is denied victims of crime as well as suspected criminals. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reports,

> Ghetto residents . . . see a dual standard of law enforcement. Particularly because many work in other areas of the city and have seen the nature of police responsiveness there, they are keenly aware of the difference. They come to believe that an assault on a white victim produces one reaction and an assault on a Negro quite another.
>
> In a United States Commission on Civil Rights study, a review of police communications records in Cleveland disclosed that police took almost four times as long to respond to calls concerning robbery from the Negro district as for the district where response was next slowest. The response time for some other crimes was at least twice as long.[41]

Residents in the ghettoes of America's cities, then, have two valid complaints against the police: overenforcement against "nuisance behavior," arrests for such things as jaywalking; and lack of protection for ghetto residents against serious crime.

One fact that studies of crime statistics often exclude is that Negroes are disproportionately the victims of crime. Ghetto crime rarely leaves the ghetto. "For nonwhites, the probability of suffering from any index crime except larceny is 78 percent higher than for whites. The probability of being raped is 3.7 percent higher among nonwhite women, and the probability of being robbed is 3.5 percent higher for nonwhites in general." [42]

The Commission on Civil Disorders continues,

> The problems associated with high crime rates generate widespread hostility toward the police in these neighborhoods. . . . Thus, crime not only creates an atmosphere of insecurity and fear throughout Negro neighborhoods but also causes continuing attrition of the relationship between Negro residents and police. This bears a direct relationship to civil disorders.[43]

Because of the high crime rates in Negro neighborhoods, and because of the apparent overenforcement by police for minor crimes, poor black people are more likely to have unpleasant encounters with the police than is the rest of society. Some of these encounters are deadly. Newspapers in the great cities are filled with accounts of suspected felons being shot while they are in the act of fleeing.

This is a direct violation of the constitutional right not to be deprived of life without due process of the law—the right to counsel, to a speedy and public trial by a jury of peers, the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty by the due process of the law. Most usually the victim of such police action, even if actually a felon, would not receive the death penalty even if tried and convicted, but would be imprisoned with right to parole.

AMERICA'S CONTINUING CRISIS

> *The rights of real human beings are at stake, and . . . these rights are neither negotiable nor ballotable; . . . negotations to be meaningful must take place between* equals, *acting in good faith, and the issues in negotiation are precisely the good faith, if not the good sense, of white Americans.*[44]

The crisis in America today is the conflict between "law and order" and human rights. The crisis is that the American majority is being cast in a new and uncomfortable role—the role of oppressor, against whom those who consider themselves oppressed are reacting because of the consistent denial of their human rights. This reaction by those who are institutionally ignored and institutionally deprived is, rather than premeditated, a reflex reaction to intolerable conditions imposed by the majority group and the institutions that represent it. One facet of the reaction has become the "summer phenomenon" of America's major cities; another, the cry of "Libertad" from a county courthouse in New Mexico occupied briefly by the heirs of the early Spanish owners of the land on which the courthouse stood.

> We hold these truths to be self-evident,
>
> That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.
>
> That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.
>
> That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.
>
> Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.
>
> But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. . . .

The Declaration of Independence is not protected by law; it is part of America's most revered tradition. Another part of that tradition is the resounding cry of "No taxation without representation," a cry that exhorted men to revolution—caused them to go to war over violations by government of their human rights. The Constitution of the United States, in its Fourteenth Amendment, provides for equal protection under the law. This provision removes any doubt about the universal applicability of all of the other natural human rights articulated in the Constitution.

Every man brings human rights into society with him—society does not bestow them. But society does sometimes violate them, or takes measures that threaten their free exercise by all citizens—or, more invidiously, by some citizens. Today in America some human rights are threatened for all, and some are violated for some. The violation of any man's, or group of men's, human rights threatens the human rights of all of us—it sets the precedent. But the major violation of human rights is not the common ills to which we all are subject: air and water pollution, misuse of the land, nuclear bombs, supersonic aircraft, and other poisoners of our life-sustaining environment. *The major violation is inequality in the realization of human rights among our citizens*—the violation that renders the concept of "equal protection," enunciated in our Constitution, a promise yet to be fulfilled. The demarcation between our citizens who are receiving the benefits of equal protection and those who are not is the line that divides the white and affluent from those who are black and those who are poor—the Negro Americans, the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest, the Appalachians and other poor whites, and the American Indians.

> Poverty is a complex phenomenon which is more than a lack of monetary resources. Poverty, in addition to being a state of money, is also a state of mind, a condition of helplessness, a life without hope or meaning. The current poor are locked in a trap because the society which has emerged affords few avenues of escape into "the good life." Poverty reduces to the issue of enforced inequality.[45]

In the light of the American precedent set by the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, the implications of the lack of equal protection are that—

> The lack of equality makes a mockery of the American Dream.
>
> Peoples who are consistently denied realization of human rights eventually revolt; this is the inevitable course of natural law. This is what the American revolutionaries of 1776 did.

The conventional means of redressing the denial of human rights to a minority group by an entire societal and institutional structure are provision of full participation with proportionate representation in established political processes, and establishment of the group's own institutions. In the past, for other ethnic minorities, the establishment of their own institutions has had the effect of increasing political and economic leverage so that the newly arrived group could protect its common interests and identity while entering into the mainstream of society. For those to whom these means are not available, there is no alternative.

The question quickly becomes, What is going to be the response of the dominant society to this American crisis? Increased repression and suppression can only exacerbate the reaction because they convince the oppressed that their grievances are proper ones; they impart increased justification and righteousness to the cause. Consider the 1968 Orangeburg, South Carolina, incident: "I was sitting on the front steps of Lowman Hall when they came up and shot me."

These words were spoken by a dying 17-year-old Negro boy to his mother. Numerous eye-witnesses' accounts and incontrovertible evidence confirmed that when a desegregation demonstration was climaxed by students' setting bonfires on the lawn of a predominantly Negro college, state troopers reacted by opening fire on the demonstrating students—who were, according to the Governor's own investigative unit, unarmed. Students wounded in the hip, back of the neck, heel, and leg said they were attacked while lying face down. Three Negro youths were killed.

Is what happened at Orangeburg conceivable at Yale or at Berkeley during a student demonstration? Is it conceivable that state troopers would open fire upon the children of white Americans? Note the distinction between official reaction to the Orangeburg student demonstration—indiscriminate shooting—and official reaction to America's annual "spring phenomena" at Fort Lauderdale and other favorite resorts of vacationing children of the affluent. These students have indulged in rioting and general destruction; the response has been a few arrests and calls to their parents. Orangeburg has thus quite naturally become a rallying cry for those who consider themselves to be targets of the armed representatives of the establishment institutions.

> Firemen and the police force were overpowered, and for three days, until troops arrived . . . mobs controlled the city. Over 50 buildings were burned, property damage of $1,500,000 to $2,000,000 was inflicted, and an estimated 1,000 lost their lives.

The above is not a description of Detroit in July 1967, but of New York City in July 1863—the Draft Riot. The *Columbia Encyclopedia* description concludes by adding, "Negroes suffered especially, many of them being lynched by the mob." [46] The mob set fire to an orphanage for black children.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, convened by the President of the United States to investigate and explain the disturbances that have become the "summer phenomena" of America's urban ghettoes, assigned the responsibility: "The most fundamental is the racial attitude of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future." And further, "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."[47]

America is dividing into two armed camps of fear. The big city police departments are making huge purchases of combat equipment. Detroit's police commissioner asked the Common Council for nine million dollars' worth of anti-riot equipment, money to buy armored vests, machine guns, and battle cars at $30,000 apiece. The police commissioner of Philadelphia is training antisniper squads to shoot from helicopters. "If you live in any major city in America, your home is mapped for defense from its own citizenry." Adjutant General George M. Gelston, of the Maryland National Guard, commented on the use of gas, "CS you know, has a great psychological effect. Once you've had a whiff of it, there's extreme reluctance to get in its way again. It gets in your lungs, makes the throat burn like hell, and you feel like you've got a steel band around your chest." So, the friendly policeman on the corner is driving a tank and carrying a combat weapon. The reason, as Detroit Police Commissioner Girardin stated, is that "this is a revolution, and people have not become aware of that. . . . This is not just mob or gang fights. It is a question of the survival of our cities." And Gelston in Maryland, "Riots like that in Detroit are not conventional police actions. This is guerrilla warfare." Civil liberties and human rights are always suspended or curtailed during time of war. This is attested to by the testimony of certain National Guardsmen and policemen in Detroit.

> When we killed a sniper or a looter, he either died in a burning building or we threw him into one. I saw at least six unreported deaths, and I was only on duty half the time in one little area.
>
> I talked to one private guard who shot a Negro in the stomach for refusing to raise his arms when he approached a hotel. When the National Guard came by, this man pointed out the wounded Negro who was picked up and trucked to a hospital, no questions asked.[48]

The House Un-American Activities Committee also has turned its attention to civil disturbances. According to a newspaper report,

> [It] has come up with a proposal all its own for solving the problem of urban unrest.
>
> Identification cards should be issued to ghetto-dwellers, the committee suggests, [through an office] for "the control and organization of the inhabitants." In the case of a "guerrilla uprising" in the cities "most civil liberties would have to be suspended." And for those who advocate such guerrilla warfare, the committee recommends "detention centers" where the trouble-makers could be shipped off and kept under guard. . . . The committee report demonstrates not the slightest understanding of the fact that the underlying cause of the racial and urban unrest is a feeling of alienation on the part of an alarmingly large segment of the population. The "solution" offered by HUAC could only produce a deeper, final alienation by a far greater segment of the population.

When a people believes that its cause is just, escalating repression creates escalating resistance to the repression. Continual escalation of repression on the part of society and its agents, without removal of the root causes of the revolt—the denial of the common human rights of a group—could lead to the suspension of civil liberties generally.

> Bayard Rustin has written, "It would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of

> segregation and discrimination . . . has virtually collapsed." Legal progress, however, is not the whole story. It is one thing to reform laws, another to remake institutions. Institutions are the lengthened shadows of our attitudes; through them we work our prejudices—sometimes unwittingly, sometimes not—into the visible ordering of society.[49]

Minority groups have been systematically excluded from meaningful participation in the institutions that shape our society, and have been forced into dependence upon and subservience to the majority. The assumption of white middle class superiority over all other groups has become so deeply woven into the fabric of American culture that it has become institutionalized without, for the most part, being recognized.

Of key importance in the American civilization is the public educational institution, which affects virtually all citizens, either as students or as parents. Like other institutions, the educational institution reflects the assumption of white middle class superiority.

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chapter 2

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Every society shapes its educational institution to perpetuate its culture—its values, its traditions, and its way of life. The educational institution of the United States has helped to perpetuate the values, traditions, and way of life which have brought about, finally, the crisis that confronts our nation today. The structure accomplishes this in two ways: by failing to provide the children of the middle class with a true perception of the position of the various cultures, including their own, in relation to American civilization as a whole; and by failing to provide the children of the poor and the black, not only with a true perception of the value of their cultures to the nation, but even with the mental skills and factual knowledge necessary to cope with the technological civilization in which they are to spend their lives. Thus the educational institution preserves the middle class culture intact from the influence of the other cultures in our nation by teaching all children that the middle class culture alone is good and acceptable.

MAINTENANCE OF SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Segregation of schools by race is a long-established method of holding to a minimum the number of Negro, Mexican-American, and Indian children able to enter the middle class. Racial segregation has been legally mandatory in the seventeen Southern and Border states and the District of Columbia, and explicitly permitted by law in six more—Arizona, Indiana, Kansas, New Mexico, New York, and Wyoming. Legally segregated schools have also been maintained in some districts in New Jersey, Illinois, and Ohio.[1]

Although the principle of mandatory segregation was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954, racial segregation is increasing, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: "The majority of American children continue to attend schools that are largely segregated. . . . In more than 100 city school systems throughout the nation . . . racial isolation in the public schools is extensive and has increased since 1954."[2] In 1954, more than 2,315,000 Negro children in the South—all who were in public school—attended segregated schools. In December of 1966, more than 2,598,000 Negro children in the South attended segregated schools.[3] Of 154,000 Negro children who have entered the schools of 15 large Northern cities since 1950, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 130,000 attended schools whose student populations were more than 90 percent Negro.[4] And Negroes are not the only group subject to segregation. Many Indian children attend schools on reservations; and "until the late forties, Mexican-American children were *formally* segregated in separate buildings or separate [illegible] on a *de facto* basis."[5]

Integration as practiced by the American middle class is still the assimilation of individuals rather than the consolidation of communities. In the cities of the North as in the Southern states, the power structure of the educational institution provides separate schools for middle class and poor children.

The Task Force heard testimony regarding the determination with which segregation is preserved. One witness told them, "My son went to the white high school this fall. Then one night someone threw a lighted can of gas into the yard." Where Negroes have the freedom to choose what school they will attend, Negro families are discouraged from sending their children to white schools. Negro children who refuse to be discouraged are beaten, shoved, kicked, stuck with pins, prevented from taking part in extracurricular activities. They are pelted with spitballs; they are not allowed to sit down to eat. In one Southern school, the Negro children were locked in the library to keep them from attending the homecoming parade. When a Negro girl was suspended indefinitely for "shoving back" a white boy who pushed her, her sister took her home; her sister was then suspended indefinitely for not signing out. A mother explained to the Task Force why her son decided to return to the Negro school: "He wanted to be able to play football."

The Task Force was told how the superintendent of a Southern school district oriented the first white teacher in an all-Negro school: "You cannot associate with any nig-ras like this one, or the people of this county will run you out of town on a rail." As he spoke, he pointed to the Negro principal of the school. The principal nodded assent. The superintendent continued, "We're very proud in this county—it's one of the few counties where a nig-ra and a white person can ride in a car together." The teacher was disturbed. When it was her turn among the faculty to write an article for the local newspaper, she mentioned her feeling "that the children at this school have been systematically deprived of an adequate education due to lack of funds and materials made available at our school." The article was censored at the district office, and the superintendent spoke again. As the teacher recalled for the Task Force,

> He told me that the community was going to think I was an outsider coming in to make trouble and that the Klan never know what they are going to do. They've been pretty quiet lately, but within the last 8 years they've killed four nig-ras. I just don't know what they would do if they started reading things like this in the newspapers."

This teacher had been confronted, not only with the determination with which racial segregation is maintained by the middle class, but also with the determination with which schools containing racial minorities are kept inferior to those maintained for the children of the white middle class. This inferiority has its effect:

> It is certainly true that in the past a good many Negroes have emerged from segregated schools to earn advanced degrees, to acquire comfortable incomes, and to register achievements which are too seldom recorded in the books with which most American school children are supplied. But the fact that the barriers imposed by segregation have been overcome by some of the more talented, the more determined, and the more fortunate would hardly seem to recommend it to thousands of disadvantaged youngsters for whom segregation has already demonstrated its capacity to cripple rather than to challenge.[6]

MAINTENANCE OF EDUCATIONAL INFERIORITY IN SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Even the education offered in the best staffed and equipped school in an affluent suburb would not adequately prepare the children of the poor to compete as equals in the American civilization. Generally, in even the most affluent school systems, neither the professional staff nor the teaching materials commonly express the attitudes about human rights, about America, and about the poor and the black that would provide their students with accurate perceptions of the history and structure of our nation. For the most part, neither the children of the poor nor those of the middle class are being taught of the traditions and values minority groups offer to enrich and improve the middle class culture. Yet the children of the poor, and especially the children of the Negroes, the Indians, and the Mexican-Americans, need these perceptions and this knowledge in order to maintain their self-respect and their cultural integrity. They need, furthermore, a type of education that is unnecessary for middle class children: As it is now being suggested that they be taught "standard English" as a *second language,* they need to be taught the dominant American culture as a *second culture*—the culture they have been excluded from—in order to develop the ability to cope successfully with the complex American civilization without losing their belief in the acceptability of their own cultures.

The educational institution not only fails to offer the children of the poor an education that would enable them to respect themselves as bearers of an acceptable culture; it fails to provide them the minimum education necessary to be self-supporting in the United States today. The education available to the children of the poor is inferior in regard to the amount and quality of facilities and supplies, the kind and quality of curriculum offered, the quality of teaching and testing materials, and the preparation and experience of the professional staff.

One witness described for the Task Force the schools of an inner-city ghetto:

> We find neglected and dilapidated physical plants; a lack of supplies and facilities; high faculty turnover rates; questionable teacher assignment and reassignment policies; an inequitable distribution of qualified teachers; questionable curriculum standards; faculty uncertainty

> with respect to students' abilities and needs; programs and curriculum poorly administered and for the most part leading nowhere; high student dropout rates because students experience little satisfaction with their school life; and students being passed from grade to grade, always being taught "at their level of need" and reaching high school simply unprepared to effectively pursue a high school course of study as it is now constituted, who will eventually quit school or graduate into a wasteland. . . .

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates schools for the children of reservation Indians. Few of these children learn English at home; the schools must teach it to them as a second language. Bureau specifications, which are not always met, require that there be no more than 30 pupils per teacher; yet, according to testimony given the Task Force, a teacher cannot successfully teach a class of more than 15 children who do not speak English. Bureau schools lack not only enough regular classroom teachers, but also specialized staff and equipment: many of the small schools lack art, music, and physical education teachers and have neither librarians nor libraries. Audiovisual aids of any kind are rare, and teaching materials are outdated. The entire system, according to Task Force testimony, needs more teacher aides, more special education teachers, more counselors, and physical and mental health staff. Ralph Nader points out the result of these deficiencies: "Since these schools breed despondency, cultural inferiority and alienation, it is not surprising that the dropout rate exceeds 50 percent."[7]

By providing the children of the poor and the black with inferior and inadequate education, the educational institution actually reduces their ability.

> Several studies have shown that Mexican-American children tend to start out on much the same level as the Anglo-American children, both in IQ scores and scholastic achievement. . . . The longer Mexican-Americans stay in school, the less they resemble the other children in these endeavors.[8]
>
> In the third grade, Harlem pupils are one year behind the achievement levels of New York City pupils. By the sixth grade they have fallen to nearly two years behind; and by the eighth grade they are about two and one-half years behind New York City levels. . . . In IQ the picture is just as alarming; a sharp drop for ghetto children between third and sixth grades, with a slight improvement by the eighth grade, but still behind where they were in

> the third grade. . . . These findings strongly suggest that for Harlem pupils IQ tests reflect the quality of teaching and the resulting educational achievement more than intellectual potential.[9]

For many children of the poor, entrance into school is their first confrontation with the opinion of them held by the middle class, the group that controls all the powerful institutions in the civilization—an opinion which, in order to be acceptable to the middle class, they must share.

> "The clash of cultures in the classroom" is essentially a class war, a socio-economic and racial warfare being waged on the battleground of our schools, with middle-class and middle-class-aspiring teachers provided with a powerful arsenal of half-truths, prejudices, and rationalizations, arrayed against hopelessly outclassed working-class youngsters. This is an uneven balance, particularly since, like most battles, it comes under the guise of righteousness.[10]

Most of the children are overcome: they accept the myth of their inferiority and the impossibility of their ever amounting to anything. Many leave school before graduation, but such is

the value of the education provided them that it makes little

the value of the education provided them that it makes little difference whether they graduate or not.

> We have children who graduate, actually, supposedly getting a high school diploma but not qualified to do anything. In other words, they don t even have the basics for going into any type of vocational work or enough credits to go into college work.*

Their treatment at the hands of the educational institution alienates some of the children of the poor from the society.

> In 1963, the sophomore class of [one particular] high school had 117 Spanish-speaking students. In 1965, when that class graduated, there were 54 left. Now that particular county, with a population one-fifth the size of the largest county in the state, has more residents in the state penitentiary than any other county in the state.*

The schools of the poor are inferior and serve to remind them of their inferior position in the American civilization. The schools make them feel that they *are* inferior while ensuring that, in regard to ability to cope with the civilization, they *will be* inferior.

Misuse of Ability Grouping and Tracking Systems

Ability grouping is in many cases simply an administrative convenience that enables a teacher to know in advance how well a class will learn. The standardized tests upon which most ability grouping is based are not accurate measures of how well or how fast a child can learn—but the teacher's expectations, based upon the results of these tests, usually are.

One authority in the field of psychological testing analyzes the inherent invalidity of such tests as those used to establish grouping:

> Psychological testing has never had a meaningful scientific theory. Testing theory assumes the existence of certain general or specific traits of intelligence, personality, or aptitude which are held to be intrinsic to the makeup of an individual, and to persist relatively unaltered throughout most of his lifetime. These alleged traits are comparable to the mental faculties assumed in prescientific psychology, although they are referred to as behavioral features of aptitude or personality. These traits presumably can be measured by means of sample questions which are scaled statistically according to performance of some selected social group. This concept of measuring deviations of performance from a socially defined norm is basic to all testing activities, but the use of such statistical measurements for predictive purposes is not verifiable by experimental procedures.[11]

> Psychological testing has mushroomed into a multimillion-dollar industry in which a few organizations and a relatively few individuals go far toward defining the primary machinery of educational and job assignment of the American people. . . . To use such dubious apparatus to control the status and behavior of students and workers is unethical and illegal even when the activity is carried on by well-meaning people. . . . Rather than promoting educational and work opportunities which will expand basic liberties, agencies and industries which rely on tests and clinical practices are depriving people of their constitutional rights, constraining freedom of thinking, and thus are undermining the democratic process.[12]

Yet the tests are used to determine whether a child is to be treated as "gifted" or "slow"; whether he is to consider himself "gifted" or "slow"; whether he is to become "gifted" or "slow." They are used to establish grouping.

> Ability grouping becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy for the children and their teachers. When they are placed in low groups, the children realize that they are considered to be stupid and they tend to accept that judgment of their abilities. Their negative self-concepts are confirmed. Because they see themselves as slow or non-learners, they behave that way. Then teachers say, "I told you so; they are stupid."[13]
>
> The effect of expectation connected with grouping, on how a child reacts, was well illustrated during an evening open house where a parent engaged a small boy in conversation. He asked the child a rather easy question and got the immediate response, "I don't know."
>
> The man pressed the child, saying, "Come now, I'm sure you do. Why don't you know?"
>
> Then the youngster mumbled, "I don't have to. I'm a turtle!"
>
> The children in that school were divided into "hares" and "turtles." The teacher's constant spoken and implied feeling about him and his classmates had been, "Well, I guess I can't expect anything from you."[14]

mining how the school staff and the student population are to regard each student, of fitting each child conveniently into a category from which there is little hope of escape. In unsegregated schools, it often provides a way to separate students by race. The Task Force heard how it is used in one Southwestern system:

> They had what they called the three-track system, based upon testing, and it just so happened that they had a fast, a middle and a slow group. All the Mexican-American kids fell in the slow groups, and all of the Anglos in the others. Now, you know, no matter what kind of test you use, there are a few of us that will sneak into the more advanced groups. But in this district it didn't happen that way. One Anglo father told me, "My son is almost retarded, and I want him in the low ability group, and they won't put him in there because he'll be with the Mexicans."

A scholar in the field of education comments:

> Considerable evidence indicates that ability grouping and tracking provide subtle but devastating outlets for acting out prejudices in the name of respectable educational techniques. . . . Decisions about which child goes where are

> based not only on reading tests but also on IQ tests which are known to produce far from valid measurements of any child's potentiality. They are particularly faulty in measuring the possible achievement levels that lower-socio-economic-class children can reach.[15]

The external determination of the child's future is continued in the junior high and high schools by means of curricular tracking. Negroes and the poor are placed in tracks which, no matter what their names, lead neither to employment nor to further education. Kenneth Clark explains the way the New York City Board of Education operates the system in Harlem:

> Four out of five of the pupils from Harlem's junior high schools who do go on to high school, go to academic high schools; but this reflects the fact that the city's vocational schools now have higher entrance requirements; the "academic" high schools . . . have become the "dumping grounds" for inferior students. . . .
>
> An "academic" diploma indicates that a student satisfactorily completed a college preparatory curriculum. Of the academic high school graduates from Harlem, only one-seventh received "academic" diplomas—compared to [illegible] of the academic high school diplomas that went to Harlem students were "general" diplomas (indicating that the recipient is not prepared for any further education).[16]

Of the students from Harlem junior high schools who entered vocational high schools in 1959, 39 percent graduated; of those who entered academic high schools, 47 percent graduated.[17] If the vocational high schools actually prepare their graduates for employment, the New York City Board of Education provides 13.2 percent of the Harlem students who enter high school with sufficient education either to get a job or to go to college. Some of these may eventually be able to compete successfully with members of the middle class society; of the other 86.8 percent, it is unlikely that any will.

Inadequacy of Plant and Facilities

The school buildings, equipment, and supplies the white middle class provides the children of the poor increase the inadequacy of their education. According to the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, "In virtually every large American city, the inner-city schools attended by Negroes are the most overcrowded." The Commission continues,

> Because [the] rapid expansion of Negro population has been concentrated in segregated neighborhoods, ghetto schools have experienced acute overcrowding. . . . Double shifts are common; hallways and other nonclassroom space have been adapted for class instruction; and mobile classroom units are used. . . .
>
> Washington, D. C., elementary schools with 85-100 percent Negro enrollments operated at a median of 115 percent of capacity. The one predominately white high school operated at 92.3 percent, an integrated high school at 101.1 percent, and the remaining schools—all predominately Negro—at 108.4 percent to 127.1 percent of capacity.[18]

School systems are not making the effort necessary to relieve these conditions. The Commission on Civil Disorders reports,

> In Detroit, 30 of the school buildings still in use in [inner-city] areas were dedicated during the administration of President Grant. In Cincinnati, although from 1950 to 1965, Negro student population expanded at a faster pace than white, most additional school capacity planned and constructed was in predominately white areas.[19]

The NEA Special Committee for the Baltimore School Investigation found that—

> The Baltimore City school system contains 84 buildings that were built before 1916. . . . Seventy percent of the children attending classes in these buildings are Negro children. A full 40 percent of the all-Negro schools in Baltimore were constructed before 1916. . . . Thirty-one schools were listed in the 1951 School Plant Survey as being Obsolete and Unsatisfactory. Of these, 6 are no longer in use, 1 houses white children, 9 are integrated, and 15 house Negro children.[20]

Consultants conducting a survey for the school board, concluded in 1967, recommended 53 schools for abandonment by 1975.[21] The Commission on Civil Disorders describes the educational results of deficient plant and facilities:

> Overcrowded schools have severe effects on education, the most important of which is that teachers are forced to concentrate on maintaining classroom discipline, and thus have little time and energy to perform the primary function—educating the students.[22]

Research has indicated just how little time some teachers are able to devote to their primary function:

> The lower-class Negro child at times receives about one-half to one-third less instructional time in the elementary grades than does the white child even when socio-economic status is controlled. In the same schools . . . as much as 80 percent of the school day focused on discipline problems and organizational detail.[23]

Inadequacy of Equipment and Supplies

Not only obsolete, overcrowded buildings, but a paucity of equipment, supplies, and programs burden the children of the poor in the educational institution. A teacher in a Negro school in Georgia described to the Task Force her visit to the white school in the same town:

> Over there they had supplementary books and television and all kinds of audiovisual aids. They had a free lunch program. They had substitute teachers. And our school is lacking all of these. The day before school started I asked in the teachers' meeting, "When are we going to get supplies and materials to teach?" And a snicker went around the room; and I looked at the principal and said, "Well, when are we going to get our paper and pencils and Well, when are we going to get our paper and pencils and construction paper and this kind of thing?" And he just kind of smiled. I said, "You mean we aren't going to get any?" And another teacher spoke up: "We've never had any."

The teacher explaining the school lunch program to the Task Force said:

> At the white school, they told me, "Every child in this school eats lunch. The first children to get on the free lunch program are the ones on welfare." At our school, they say, "We have to teach the parents economic responsibility. If any of them are on welfare, then they should not get free lunches because they are being paid to give their children lunch money." Twenty percent of the children in my school don't eat lunch.

The NEA Special Committee for the Wilcox County, Alabama, Investigation found in the schools the system provides its Negro students conditions of existence completely unrelated to the standards that white America maintains for itself:

> A 20-year-old bus with a capacity of 48 carried 115 Negro students in one trip.

> Eleven of the 15 Negro schools had outdoor toilets only.
>
> The county paid the telephone bills for only two of the Negro schools.
>
> Seven of the Negro schools were allocated no county funds for instructional supplies.
>
> In grades 1 through 6, there were an average of 37.7 pupils per teacher in the Negro schools.
>
> Some teachers had as many as 80 students in a class; many had more than 50 students per class.[24]

The Coleman study found that such conditions are general:

> Negro pupils have fewer of some of the facilities that seem most related to academic achievement: They have less access to physics, chemistry, and language laboratories; there are fewer books per pupil in their libraries; their textbooks are less often in sufficient supply.[25]

Inadequacy of Curriculum

The range of course offerings provided the children of the poor and the way they are presented are such as to prevent these children from escaping their heritage of poverty. The simple physical conditions in the schools which contain them, and the self-perceptions and instructional deficiencies resulting from the tracking system maintains the number of poor children who are equipped to enter college at the minimum. Researchers for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that "whites more often were in schools which had advanced courses in particular subjects, such as science and language." [26]

Poor children's chances of obtaining an effective vocational education are no less limited. Whitney Young describes the reasons Negroes are unable to obtain usable vocational education throughout the nation.

> Economic emasculation has been practiced on the Negro with subtlety through the clean-handed route of controlling education and vocational training. . . . The Jim Crow use of vocational education and training facilities has seriously crippled the Negro wage earner. In general, vocational courses are open to fewer than one-fifth of high school students in the cities. In the north and west, few Negroes are found in vocational and technical high schools because of the traditional lack of job opportunities in fields for which schools prepare students. In the south and

> midwest de facto segregation excludes Negroes from training for all but menial jobs.[27]

The Task Force heard evidence concerning the way this kind of vocational training is provided. In Alabama and Georgia, witnesses testified, it often takes the form of preparing and serving lunch in the school cafeteria for the girls and cleaning the school building for the boys. In Mississippi, agricultural training is emphasized: students are let out of school to pick cotton and mow the principal's lawn. There is also training in salesmanship: students sell popcorn and candy to raise money for the school.

Irrelevance of Curriculum and Materials

The failure of the educational institution to help students perceive the truth about themselves and about the history and structure of American civilization confirms the lack of self-respect and aspiration instilled in the children of the poor by the institution's design for their futures—and thereby confirms the likelihood that they will live and die in poverty and powerlessness. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders found that—

> The quality of education offered by ghetto schools is diminished by use of curricula and materials poorly adapted to the life-experiences of the students. Designed to serve a middle-class culture, much educational material appears irrelevant to the youth of the racial and economic ghetto. Until recently, few texts featured any Negro personalities. Few books used or courses offered reflected the harsh realities of life in the ghetto, or the contribution of Negroes to the country's culture and history. This failure to include materials relevant to their own environment has made students skeptical about the utility of what they are being taught. Reduced motivation to learn results.[28]

Historian Lerone Bennett discusses this deficiency and its effects:

> Despite some long-overdue but limited approaches to racial reality, the textbook world is still white, middle class and antiseptically unreal. . . . With few exceptions, textbooks now in use defame or ignore black people and other minorities. "In school," says Mildred Gladney, curriculum specialist of the Chicago Public School System, "the child is given books to read and study, films to observe, concepts

> to be understood and learned in which all necessary, heroic, and functioning people are white, with not even a suggestion that this view of society is totally unrealistic, a sick dream of a sick society, a nightmare."
>
> There is considerable evidence that [both] the morale and reading ability of black children are adversely affected by white-oriented textbooks. Recent studies show that it is impossible for black children to identify with the problemless lily-white world of the average text. Far worse is the fact that almost all black children are subjected to the maiming wound of being taught to prefer others and to despise themselves.[29]

Not only poor children are miseducated by the distorted picture of history and society presented in curriculum and texts. The middle class children are given a false sense of superiority and of the importance of their society to the American civilization as a whole.

One historian notes the effects of biased textbooks on both middle class and poor or Negro children.

> The widespread use of textbooks filled with evasions, half-truths and distortions is disastrous to both black and white Americans: to black Americans because social health depends to a great extent on personal and group self-conceptions; to white Americans because one cannot know a great deal about America unless one knows a little about Afro-Americans.
>
> In general, white-oriented texts tend to inoculate white Americans with the virus of racism, giving them a sense of exclusive identification with a land created by the blood and sweat of men and women of all races and creeds. The effect on black school children is devastatingly traumatic.[30]

Throughout the nation, white children know nothing of other cultural groups beyond stereotypes.

> Many white children are accustomed to thinking of the Negro as . . . doing only menial work, the Indian as a savage, and the Mexican-American as a farmhand. . . .
>
> One day a mother, knowing that her child's first grade teacher was Negro, asked, "Do you like your teacher?" The child replied, "I haven't met my teacher. Every day she sends her maid." [31]

In one suburb studied by a research team associated with Teachers College, Columbia University,

> Like their elders, many children talked a tolerance they did not feel—a state of affairs that cannot have been conducive to good mental health.[32]
>
> Many said things like "I wouldn't care if a person were white or black, I'd play with him if I liked him." But on further probing, it became evident that this supposed tolerance was only skin-deep: when the same children were given any test which involved just such a choice, they almost invariably shied from choosing the Negro. . . .
>
> Many stereotypes about race and religion cropped up even among the youngest children. Six- and seven-year-olds, for instance, pictured Negroes as poor, threatening or inferior.[33]

When such attitudes are carried into adulthood, they not only serve to perpetuate the present inequities of American society, but they seriously handicap their owner as well.

> In one aspect of their education suburban children are underprivileged. Though other races, other nationalities, other generations have a great deal to teach them, there is little in their education, formal or otherwise, to familiarize them with the rich diversity of American life.[34]

Children who are ignorant of the importance of other cultures in American society are ill equipped to accept without deep emotional shock the implications of experiences in later life which conflict with their childhood beliefs concerning their inherent superiority. Many young people today, for example, are reacting to the discovery that adults may tell and believe falsehoods about basic truths and values by rejecting all middle class values to become flower children. The educational institution nurtures such falsehoods by failing to help children find the truth, through planned and informal instruction and the use of textbooks in all subjects which do not conceal—and which, where appropriate, present—the inherent equality of all racial groups.

Lack of Certificated Teachers

The quality of the teacher is crucial to the quality of education received by the child. Without good teachers, the most modern and finely equipped school, with the best available textbooks and curricular structure, will fail to educate the students. With good teachers, even the schools maintained for minority-group children could provide a minimal and even possibly an excellent education. While certification is not a guarantee of excellence, the percentage of certificated teachers in a school indicates the place of that school among the priorities of the system administration. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders reports results of a study of the Chicago public high schools in 1963: Of the 10 schools in the neighborhoods ranking lowest socioeconomically, 4 were 100 percent Negro and 3 were more than 90 percent Negro. In these schools, 63.2 percent of the teachers were fully certificated and their median level of experience was 3.9 years. Of the 10 schools in the highest ranking neighborhoods, 8 were nearly 100 percent white and the others were more than 75 percent white. In these schools, 90.3 percent of the teachers were fully certificated and their median level of experience was 12.3 years.[35]

In Baltimore, the NEA Special Committee found that "for the school year 1965-66, Baltimore City employed 17.8 percent of the new teachers hired in Maryland. These new teachers constituted 32.2 percent of all the teachers without degrees hired in Maryland that year." The Committee quotes the *Baltimore Sun:*

> Often coming out second best in the competitive struggle with the suburban counties for the cream of the teaching crop, the city must accept about 1,200 new teachers every year to cover increases in the student population, retirements, and resignations. . . .
>
> About 700 to 800 qualify [for certification], and the other 400 or 500 are hired as special substitutes because of the drastic shortage of teachers in the city. Only the uncertified teachers—only Negroes at that—are sent into the slum schools.[36]

Similarly, the NEA Special Committee for the Detroit Investigation found that—

> Not only is there an admitted need for staff expansion in Detroit schools, but high teacher turnover rates and low ability to attract and retain qualified professional personnel have resulted in a continuing failure to fill established positions. . . .

> 1. The Detroit school system opened in September 1965 with a shortage of 400 classroom teachers. In September 1966, the announced shortage was 500.
> 2. The shortage of classroom teachers has forced the school administration to draw on its list of substitute teachers to serve in regular positions and on prolonged classroom assignments. In March 1965, there were 497 emergency substitutes in regular positions (ESRP's) in the Detroit Public Schools. Among this group, 226 had no degree [and] 4 were graduates of unaccredited institutions. . . . Testimony indicated that there has been a disproportionately large placement of these teachers, and of beginning teachers, in the low income area schools. . . .
> 3. The substitute shortage has been intensified by . . . the reluctance of substitutes to accept assignments in Detroit's "difficult" schools.[37]

Furthermore, the teachers in the ghetto schools have insufficient support in their work. The Commission on Civil Disorders found that—

> Disadvantaged neighborhoods have the greatest need for health personnel, supplementary instructors, and counselors to assist with family problems, provide extra instruction to lagging students and deal with the many serious mental and physical health deficiencies that occur so often in poverty areas. . . . The need for professional support for teachers in dealing with these extraordinary problems is seldom, if ever, met.[38]

Lack of Suitable Teachers

Fulfillment of certification requirements is not the most important qualification a teacher needs to educate children from outside of the middle class.

> Studies have shown that the attitudes of teachers toward their students have very powerful impacts upon educational attainment. The more teachers expect from their students—however disadvantaged those students may be—the better the students perform. Conversely, negative teacher attitudes act as self-fulfilling prophecies: the teachers expect little from their students; the students fulfill the expectation.[39]

Unfortunately, from the very beginning, many teachers view schools maintained for the children of the poor as inferior and assignment to these schools as a mark of low status among the teachers in the system.

> The worst categories of school personnel are brought together and reinforce each other [in the slum school]: tyrants whom the parents of higher-status children would not tolerate; silly and malicious teachers who would be shriveled by the sophistication with which middle-class parents would dismiss them as case studies in abnormal psychology, and timid and vulnerable beginners who are assigned to the slum schools because their own professional status is so low that the authorities assume . . . they will not dare criticize them.[40]

At the same time, they are inadequately prepared to educate the students in those schools.

> The problems they're going to be facing in dealing with these people are not taken up once. So they walk into class, and they say, "Class"—because they've been used to talking that way, you know—"Class, how are you?" But what's wrong with these people? They're not right. They're not sitting down, they're getting up. They're throwing rocks out the window. "No, class, this is not the way it's supposed to be. No, come back!" *

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II testified to the Commission on Civil Disorders that many teachers are unprepared to teach in schools that serve disadvantaged children and therefore "have what is a traumatic experience there." [41] Because they cannot teach the students, they conclude that the students cannot learn.

> [Many] teachers today still tend to regard assignment to a school in a Mexican American district as an inferior one, bordering on punishment (as do teachers who are assigned to schools in areas heavily populated by Negroes). Their numerous complaints about the difficulties of teaching Mexican American children become more understandable in view of their ignorance of the children's background.[42]

Frustrated in their efforts to teach by their inadequate preparation, teachers direct all their efforts to the maintenance of the maximum possible degree of order in the classroom—and they leave the school as soon as they can obtain work elsewhere. In the meantime, they too often project their feelings of inadequacy onto their students. According to Kenneth Clark,

> The problems of identifying with children of different backgrounds—especially for persons from the white middle class—the problems of rejection of children deemed unappealing or alien, and the problems of achieving empathy are multiple. Courses in educational philosophy and psychology as presently taught do not prepare these teachers for the challenge of their job. . . . In the worst classes they don't have to work because whatever happens, they can just say, "It is the children." The white teachers are largely inexperienced—the principal does not expect very much from the teachers. . . . There are few ghetto schools where the morale of teachers and pupils is high and where the teachers truly believe in the humanity and capacity of the children to learn. In those few schools the children learn.[43]

In the other schools the teachers indoctrinate their students with the values of the middle class in order to prove—to themselves and the children—that it is not they who are inferior. One student teacher quotes her supervising teacher as telling one of his students, "We just got a new dog at our house. As a matter of fact, he looks very much like you. . . . He looks so much like you that we decided to call him Blackie." [44] An observer in the Chicago schools noted that there are some teachers "who have given up, who express their contempt for the students . . . and who sometimes fail to appear in class until the period is half over." One teacher told the observer "—about halfway through the period, 'Oh, we're not doing anything. We've finished our work and we're just killing time.' " [45]

Unfair Administrative Policies

Inadequate preparation is not the only common handicap of teachers entering a school in a socioeconomically depressed area. Because they commonly lack preparation or experience, or both, the school and system administration and the school board frequently treat the teachers with lack of dignity and respect. The further lowering of already weakened morale results; this in turn further lowers the quality of education provided the students. In schools where the administration is rigidly authoritarian, the teacher is not free to teach.

Three of the methods by which administrators and school boards thus cripple the efforts of their subordinates are typified in the schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the schools of Appalachia, and predominantly Negro schools, particularly in the Southern states and in large cities.

In the Indian schools, the policies established for the administration of the system by its governing body, and the way they are carried out, frequently prevent teachers from exercising the judgment and initiative that would make good teaching possible. Teachers employed by the Bureau are not given their assignments until their orientation just before school opens. They are governed by Civil Service regulations, which require them to be on duty for 40 hours a week throughout the year, with no more than 15 days' annual vacation during the first 15 years of service. Teachers are given ratings by their principals which are used to determine their place on the salary schedule. They are rigidly supervised—in some schools, they are required to submit *daily* lesson plans. Freedom to plan the use of their time, already curtailed by their 40-hour week, is further impinged upon by frequent meetings and additional duties such as dormitory supervision in the boarding schools. Leave for acquiring additional preparation in summer is difficult to obtain.

Teachers are not only denied the freedom to conduct their professional work to the best of their ability, they are discouraged from making any criticism of the system that denies them this right. The Task Force was told, "We have no freedom of speech. If we speak out against something we don't believe in, we are called 'unprofessional' and our actions are termed 'ugly.' " Another witness testified,

> Teachers working in [a particular agency] are forced to work under humiliating and frustrating conditions. Initiative, imagination, efficiency are forbidden. Teachers are required to follow the pattern. . . . Young teachers are confused by the outmoded procedures, and those of us who remember "the old days" are appalled. Perhaps the worst quality of all is the all-too-evident feeling of fear which prevails in the entire establishment. . . . Individuals are wary of expressing opinions or complaining about flagrant injustice for fear of informers. Obviously no teacher can do top quality work under these conditions; this adds to the general frustration.

In the Appalachian Mountain area, it is the politicians who control the operation of the schools, by shaping the policies of the school administration. In many counties, the major sources of income are the state and federal governments, and a large part of this income goes to the schools. Because the high rate of unemployment makes the schools major employers in this region, control of the schools is a highly prized source of patronage. Whoever controls the schools controls a large portion of the money and the jobs in these counties, and thereby controls the people. Whoever controls the schools also controls the future of the children; if they are provided inadequate education, they will be less likely to develop and act on independent political judgment or to understand their long-range, as opposed to short-range, interests. Initial and continued employment in the schools are often contingent upon support of local political figures. Written personnel policies are rare, and, as one witness told the Task Force, even "the pay you are to receive, you do not know for sure until the first payday—not for sure at all."

In many parts of the country, teachers acting as a group can bring about improvement in teaching conditions and in the quality of education. This kind of action is not encouraged in Appalachia. One meeting of a teachers group was interrupted by two uninvited participants—a member of the local school board and a deputy sheriff. A local politician invaded the hearing of one local education association with the Professional Practices Commission. NEA staff members assisting a local affiliate in negotiation received telephone calls warning them to leave the county. Their car was followed at night. Political control of the educational institution conveys too much power to be yielded without stubborn resistance.

Many school systems adopt personnel policies which permit discrimination against Negroes and other minorities. The states of Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia do not have teacher tenure laws which apply statewide. In Alabama, Tennessee, and Florida, the laws have been made ineffective in regard to Negro teachers. In these states it is legally permissible for school boards to dismiss school professional staff (both Negro and white) who do not behave as the power structure requires for the preservation of its dominance. For example, "the Alabama Teacher Tenure Commission, although charged by act of the state legislature with the responsibility of implementing the state teacher tenure law, is without enforcement powers." In Wilcox County, the Board of Education refused to reinstate four Negro teachers although ordered to do so by the Tenure Commission, and requested the legislature to repeal the State Teacher Tenure Law as it applied to Wilcox County. This request was granted in August 1966.[46]

School boards in these states have used the absence of tenure to deny Negroes their civil rights. In 1965, the NEA through its DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights supported a teacher who lost her job because her husband ran for public office (she herself participated in a voter registration campaign). Another teacher told the Task Force how she lost her job because she refused to make out freedom of choice forms for Negro pupils stating that they wished to attend Negro schools:

> I did not sign because it was for the parents to choose the school they wanted their children to attend. The supervisor came to me and said to sign them and send them back and to mark the Negro school as the choice of school in each case. In May, the teachers who were to return were sent a letter, and I did not get a letter. I asked the principal if he were going to send me a letter. He said, "No, because you did not cooperate with the administration." I asked how. He said, "In various ways."

Negro teachers and principals are likely to be dismissed when schools are integrated. In some instances, the schools have been *integrated and then resegregated.*

Not only employment, but initial certification, salary, and position in the system are carefully regulated. Negro teachers assigned to schools with predominantly white student bodies are sometimes not put in charge of classes. The Task Force was told of one Negro business education teacher who was transferred to a white school, "She runs off copies on the mimeograph for the other teachers, but she is not allowed to teach." A teacher who incurs the disapproval of the school board or administration may be transferred to a school with a predominantly lower class student population—a practice which stigmatizes both the teacher and the school. Similarly, in many instances Negro principals do not administer schools where there is a large proportion of white teachers; a white associate principal is assigned administration of the white teachers.

In some states the National Teacher Examination (NTE) is used to determine where a teacher shall be placed on the salary schedule. An NEA investigating committee that studied the

Florida schools while the NTE was used there to determine certification, eligibility for tenure, and salary found that—

> The present approved examinations for certification, continuing contract, and competence awards are defined by their publishers as examinations on achievement in general preparation for teaching. In no case does the Educational Testing Service define either the National Teacher Examination or the Graduate Record Examinations as proper instruments for evaluating teacher competence except as competence is related to general education.[47]

On the basis of evidence submitted, the Special Committee concluded that—

> As a measurement of an individual's general academic background in broad subject areas . . . an examination such as [the NTE] should be a valuable diagnostic instrument to identify particular areas of professional strength and weakness among members of a teaching staff—*if it is used, in conjunction with other evaluative methods, for the purpose of upgrading professional skills and not as the sole criterion by which salaries, professional rank, and eligibility for continued employment are determined.*[48]

A major reason for the use of such an improper standard of teaching competence was not difficult to determine.

> Although the law applies to all teachers in the state, the NEA Committee found that the prevailing opinion in Florida (aside from the expressed official viewpoint) is that the examination was instituted and has been used in the state to provide a salary differential which will place many Negro teachers in a lower teaching rank.[49]

An NEA Task Force conducting a study in 17 Southern and Border states in association with the U.S. Office of Education found that "in theory, the law [requiring a certain score on the NTE for certification or tenure] deals equally with all teachers; nevertheless, it is generally recognized that a larger proportion of the Negro teachers are adversely affected."[50] The Task Force noted that not only Negro teachers are affected, however:

> It is highly probable that scores in the National Teacher Examination are affected by the social class and geographical section from which the candidate comes. It is, therefore, probable that the application of NTE cut-off scores to teacher certification, appointment, and promotion procedures will bear most heavily upon the Negro teaching

> population. It will also exercise considerable influence on the selection of white teachers in accordance with regional and social class origins.[51]

The NEA Committee studying Florida discussed which kinds of teachers the NTE evaluates most unfairly:

> Although . . . reports show a higher proportion of failure among the Negro teachers than the white, several persons expressed the opinion that the differences in ability to pass the examinations are in many instances greater between the rural and urban teachers than between the white and Negro teachers. It has also been widely noted that the nature of the questions on the NTE Common Examination, relating as they do to an individual's general academic background in broad subject areas, might create a bias against the older teacher who has been out of school for a number of years, particularly if the teacher is in a specialized field such as music, art, physical education, or vocational subjects.[52]

The Task Force described the effect on the educational system of this use of the NTE:

> The threat of job loss is so great in many places that fear permeates the teaching force. Administrators have used it to intimidate Negro teachers and to inhibit their personal and professional activities.[53]

Some teachers fail to attain the required score on the NTE when they first take it; teachers whose scores improved significantly when they took the test a second time have been suspected of cheating. Attempts, some successful, have been made to prevent or revoke their certification. The evidence in such cases has been that a friend or relative of the teacher concerned took the test at the same time and did well on it. The physical distance between the parties in all cases described to the Task Force and the evidence of test monitors indicated beyond a reasonable doubt that no cheating occurred. The teacher in states which require a certain score on the NTE for certification is caught between the need to improve his score to get a better salary and the fear that if he improves too much, he will lose his certificate altogether.

The institution operates in such a way as to prevent all but a few of the children of the poor and the black from even aspiring to careers in education; of these, disproportionately few attain

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responsible administrative positions. One New York City teacher explains some of the reasons:

> Two high city officials—one white and one black—made almost identical statements. . . . They both stated that school principals should not be chosen on the basis of color. But principals *are* chosen on the basis of color. They are chosen before they enter the first grade of school. The filtering system operates throughout elementary and high school and continues with the examination for teachers. This examination is designed to bring in a substantial number of graduates of the first [white middle class] system, and a fewer number of the very best of the second [poor and Negro] system. The filtering process continues: The assistant principal's examination is loaded with material designed to bring into its ranks persons educated in the first system. If a few disadvantaged teachers filter in, there is always the oral. The southern dialect (not a part of America, apparently) can cause a failure by one or two points. . . .
>
> [The] second system educates youngsters to become domestics, elevator operators, soldiers, addicts, drop-outs and, if they are extremely bright or lucky, disadvantaged school teachers. . . .[58]

In Detroit, for example, the NEA Special Committee found that—

> The school system employs one Negro field executive; and in the fall of 1966 [occurred] the appointment of the system's first Negro assistant superintendent. . . .
>
> In 1965, the Detroit school system, whose enrollment was 54.8 percent Negro, had the following proportion of Negroes among its administrative and supervisory staff:
>
> - Of 307 counselors, 65 (21 percent) were Negroes.
> - Of 352 department heads, 23 (7 percent) were Negroes.
> - Of 314 assistant principals, 19 (6 percent) were Negroes.
> - Of 257 principals, 13 (5 percent) were Negroes.[54]

Negro administrators are usually assigned to predominantly Negro schools. In Baltimore, in the fall of 1965, 66 of 137 elementary school principals were Negro; 62 were assigned to Negro (more than 89 percent) schools. Thirty-six of 77 elementary vice-principals were Negro; 35 were assigned to Negro schools. Sixteen of 49 secondary and vocational principals were Negro; all 16 were assigned to Negro schools. Twenty-eight of 76 secondary and vocational vice-principals were Negro; 20 were assigned to Negro schools.[55]

> McDowell County, W. Va., . . . has six schools—all of them about 50 percent white—which are headed by Negro principals. . . . It appears that there are more desegregated schools with Negro principals in McDowell County than there are in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina combined. . . .
>
> When desegregation began in Kentucky 12 years ago there were 348 schools which had all-Negro enrollments and faculties, including principals. Today there are only 9 all-Negro schools left in the state, and 25 other (desegregated) schools also have Negro principals. . . . All but five of the 25 have a majority of Negro students; all of the [12] in Louisville are predominantly Negro, and only one of them has as much as a 10 percent white enrollment.[56]

It is difficult to obtain figures concerning the number of Negro or Mexican-American administrators above the rank of assistant principal in a school system. Many systems do not publish lists of administrative staff categorized by race; those that do, tend to group assistant principals and principals together, superintendents and assistant superintendents together, other central administrative staff together. Other governmental agencies concerned with education or civil rights apparently have collected no data on the subject.

> Correspondents for *Southern Education Report* canvassed all of the 17 Southern and border states in an effort to find out how many Negro principals now preside over schools having both white and Negro students. Official statistics and specific examples were difficult to find in all of the states, and in a few, such information could not be obtained at all.[57]

From the figures that are available, and from reports of persons employed in the schools, it seems clear, however, that racial minorities are not represented anywhere near proportionately in the upper administrative staffs of the educational institution.

The rarity of administrators from the lower socioeconomic class in turn perpetuates the system's discrimination against both students and teachers from this class. Administrators who grew up in the middle class, or who have managed to insert themselves into the middle class, naturally strive to the extent of their ability to instill the values of the middle class, particularly the judgment that the middle class is superior to all others, into both the teachers and the pupils under their jurisdiction.

By the three methods described above—impartially repressive administrative policies, substitution of political patronage systems for school policies, and discriminatory policies—teachers in many systems of the nation are prevented from practicing their profession as they judge best without fear of harassment or dismissal. School boards, administrators, or politicians impose such restriction in some middle class white communities, but it is most common in the schools which contain the children of the poor.

The Structure of the Educational Institution

The educational institution provides for the children of the poor obsolete and dilapidated school buildings in which the facilities, the materials, the supplies, the curriculum, the preparation and attitudes of the professional staff all are inadequate to educate the children of the poor and the black, and inferior to those provided the children of the middle class.

The institution is presently so structured that the middle class is able to exclude the community of the poor and the black from their proportionate share in responsibility for school decision making. Because the middle class society has retained control of the public institutions and the private positions that exert influence over them, a school board that represents the will of the middle class establishes the policy of the school system; this policy is administered by a superintendent who is a member of that society. Even in such cities as Washington, D. C., and Baltimore, where an overwhelming majority of the school population is Negro, representatives of the middle class are able, and indeed required by the influence wielded by the middle class, to administer the schools with minimal regard to the will of the Negro community—as though not only their most powerful, but their only, constituent community were the white one. Throughout the nation, the Task Force heard members of Negro, Mexican, and Indian communities describe the refusal of school authorities at all levels to tell what the schools were doing or even hear, much less act upon, the wishes of the community. Because they are without influence, the poor and the black must accept the schools the middle class structures for them. Thus the middle class society is able to ensure that integration remains the assimilation of individuals and that the children of the poor will not be able to compete with its own children on equal terms.

In 1966 a group of Negro churchmen issued a statement on the present position of the Negro community in the American civilization.

> We, an informal group of Negro Churchmen in America, are deeply disturbed about the crisis brought upon our country by historic distortions of important human realities in the controversy about "black power." What we see shining through the variety of rhetoric is not anything new but the same old problem of power and race which has faced our beloved country since 1619.
>
> . . . The conscience of black men is corrupted because, having no power to implement the demands of conscience, the concern for justice in the absence of justice becomes a chaotic self-surrender. Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars. We are faced now with a situation where powerless conscience meets conscience-less power, threatening the very foundations of our nation.
>
> We deplore the overt violence of riots, but we feel it is more important to focus on the real sources of these eruptions. These sources may be abetted inside the ghetto, but their basic cause lies in the silent and covert violence which white middle class America inflicts upon the victims of the inner city.
>
> . . . In short, the failure of American leaders to use American power to create equal opportunity *in life* as well as *law*, this is the real problem and not the anguished cry for black power.
>
> . . . Without the capacity to *participate with power*, i.e. to have some organized political and economic strength to really influence people with whom one interacts—integration is not meaningful.
>
> . . . America has asked its Negro citizens to fight for opportunity as *individuals*, whereas at certain points in our history what we have needed most has been opportunity for the *whole group*, not just for selected and approved Negroes.
>
> . . . We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power, for we have been oppressed as a group and not as individuals. We will not find our way out of that oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans, as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, among others, to have and to wield group power.[59]

Until the Negro community—and the other communities of the poor—have group responsibility for the segments of the educational institution that affect their children, their children will continue to be served last and worst by that institution.

In the past, the mistakes of the institution could be counted on to remain unseen, toiling to eke out a living on the farms and in the sweatshops of the inner city. Others could be made invisible by shutting them off on reservations or their more modern counterpart, the ghetto. Automation of the farm, the factory, and the office have dried up the sources of employment for those whom the educational institution fails. The institution must find a way to prepare the children of the poor to share in the social and economic benefits of the nation or risk being destroyed along with and by those whom it fails to serve.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Unequal protection of human rights, both under the law and in practice, has brought the nation to a condition of crisis. Those whose rights have long been denied are now demanding equal protection, equal treatment, and equal opportunity. Their demands, and the frighteningly violent response of segments of the middle class society, make it imperative that all responsible citizens and institutions use every means in their power to transmute the American ideal of equality into fact. The American crisis involves every inhabitant of the United States, for it will shape, for better or worse, the nation in which he lives. No child, no teacher, can be isolated from the struggle of the American civilization to breathe life into the ideals it has propounded since its founding.

The struggle for human rights must be fought in many areas of human activity. It involves open housing, equal employment opportunity, equal sharing of public services, and equal opportunity for health care. All the institutions of our nation must apply their energy and resources to solving the problem if it is to be solved at all—if denial of human rights is to decrease rather than increase. Among the most important areas in which human rights must be secured is education. Almost every citizen of the nation passes some part of his childhood in the public schools. The schools have the opportunity to teach every student to discover the truth and discard fallacies. The schools have the power to shape the abilities and future attainments of their students, particularly those of children of the poor and the black, for whom education is virtually the only legitimate hope. Historically, the educational institution has maintained a position of "neutrality" on racial issues—an apparent neutrality which in effect reinforces the discriminatory orientation of the other institutions of society. Now, for its own sake and that of American society, the educational institution—and individual educators within it—must abandon this false neutrality, replacing it with a commitment to eradicate discriminatory attitudes and practices. By making a serious effort to help every child discover the realities about the functioning of American civilization and the contributions and potential contributions of the groups which comprise it, and to encourage each child to develop his abilities to the fullest extent, the educational institution of America can help the nation move closer to the basic ideals which are now within reach, yet never have been approximated.

A. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Teacher Education

The need for teachers is urgent; even more urgent is the need for teachers with the knowledge and attitudes necessary for providing the children of the poor with effective and appropriate education. Until this need is met, the educational institution will continue to perpetuate societal inequities.

1. *More prospective teachers must be actively recruited from minority groups.* In order to help provide from minority groups some of the teachers who are so urgently needed, we recommend,

   For example . . .

   That education students who are practice teaching or serving internships in minority-group communities be equipped and encouraged to discuss with gifted young people and their parents the advantages of and possibilities for a career in education. They should be familiar with the admissions standards and available financial assistance for teacher education in their own and other nearby colleges and universities.

   That standards for admission and financial assistance be so structured as to recruit minority-group students into teacher education.

   That special effort be made to advise minority-group education students about the advantages of specializing in areas of rapidly increasing demand, such as kindergarten, vocational-technical, and junior college teaching.

2. *Experienced teachers must be provided with skills in human relations and in teaching minority-group children—and with the opportunity to keep these skills up-to-date.* This can be done through summer courses, workshops, institutes, and conferences. We recommend that teacher education institutions, in cooperation with education associations, obtain federal or foundation grants to provide teachers in service with—

   General knowledge in the field, such as approaches to providing quality integrated education.

   Knowledge necessary to work with specific groups, particularly groups that are well represented in the geographical area; e.g., institutions in the Southwest should provide courses in bilingual education for Spanish-speaking children.

3. *Further research on methods must be conducted.* More knowledge must be gathered and tested, not only on teaching minority-group children, but on preparing successful teachers for such children and on providing teachers with human relations skills.

4. *Future teachers must be specifically trained in human relations and to develop healthy attitudes toward themselves and their students.* Many of the attributes a teacher needs for successful education of minority-group children are the attributes of a good teacher in any classroom. We recommend that—

   Teacher education programs test the attitudes of potential educators toward children, particularly minority-group children, and provide extensive counseling to those who lack the attitudes necessary for successful teaching. All teacher education programs must accept as a major goal the graduation of beginning teachers who fully respect the dignity and potential of every child. In particular, every teacher must be so educated that he understands—

      The reasons some students lack self-respect, and means of helping them attain it.

      The value to students of a healthy self-image and a proud racial consciousness.

The crucial importance of providing education that is relevant to the student and his community.

Future teachers be given some classroom experience, at least as observers, as early as their sophomore year, so that those who realize that they are unsuited to teaching will be able to begin another course of study with the least possible loss of time and those who continue will acquire early orientation to the classroom situation.

The future teacher be helped to feel respect for himself and his colleagues. Teacher education programs should include routine preventive and diagnostic care in mental health to properly orient students to themselves and their responsibilities as educators. Future teachers should be taught the value and techniques of conducting regular self-evaluations.

Training in human relations and group dynamics be a part of every teacher education program, to provide the future educator with skills in relating to his students, his colleagues, and the community in which he works.

5. *Future teachers must have the opportunity to learn the specific skills they will need to work with minority-group children, and prospective teachers for predominately minority-group locations must be actively recruited and given special training.* The general preparation should include—

Practice teaching and internship experiences selected to provide intimate knowledge of minority-group children.

Instruction in the best teaching methods known, in techniques of creative approaches and experimentation, and in the creating of valid tests of classroom learning.

Preparation for teaching on integrated faculties and in integrated classes.

Courses to give the student insight into the attitudes and societal structure of minority-group children, including sociology, social psychology, and the history of the various minority groups in America.

Those preparing to teach in a culture which they do not understand will also require specialized courses. Colleges in regions with large minority-group populations, in particular, must offer courses appropriate to their locations, such as—

Anthropology for prospective teachers in Indian schools.

The languages or dialects spoken by the children the student is preparing to teach—the language of the urban ghetto and of the hills as well as Spanish and Indian languages.

Integration

The educational institution must cease to practice or permit exclusion of students or educators from any school on grounds of race or socioeconomic level.

6. *All systems in locations with significant minority-group populations must have total integration of faculties.* The racial composition of the faculty should be the same as that of the student body, and the faculty composition of each school must be in approximately the same proportions.

7. *In locations where there are no significant minority-group populations, a composition of the faculty that will give students the opportunity to become acquainted with members of other cultural groups is a necessity.* In such locations, the recruiting agency of the school system must make a special effort to obtain qualified and suitably prepared personnel from minority groups. Further, members of groups which constitute minorities on the staff must be particularly encouraged to attend faculty meetings with the rest of the staff and assigned the same kinds of extracurricular duties as the rest of the staff.

8. *Integration must work both ways.* White students and teachers should integrate minority-group schools just as minority groups must integrate white schools. Moreover, identical criteria should be applied to the selection of staff designated to integrate either all-white or all-Negro schools.

9. *Integration must extend beyond the classroom.* Extracurricular activities and busing schedules must be so coordinated that students who are transported to schools outside of their neighborhoods have the opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities. All extracurricular student activities must be available to *all* students in integrated schools.

10. *Where thorough integration of student bodies is impracticable, students must be given the opportunity to experience integrated situations.* Understanding of and ability to cooperate with members of other groups is best developed by

activities shared with students from other groups, whether in the classroom or outside. We therefore recommend,

For example . . .

That integrated field trips, sports events, interest clubs, or social events be provided in de facto segregated areas.

That student exchanges between schools and between school systems be instituted on a consistent, continuing basis.

11. *Local governments and school authorities must act to eliminate de facto school segregation.* In particular, we recommend that such agencies—

    Redraw district and school attendance boundaries to include both minority and majority groups in a district or attendance area, by, for example, combining urban and suburban school systems.

    Locate new school buildings where they will draw students from both minority and majority groups.

    Enact and enforce open housing legislation.

    Establish high schools specializing in particular curricular areas to attract students from all parts of the district to take advanced courses.

Curriculum

Course content, staffing, and teaching materials are elements of the educational institution with great immediate impact upon the student; their quality therefore shapes the future of every child and of the nation.

12. *The curriculum must prepare students to be self-sufficient and productive in a technological, competitive, and multicultural society.* Both the students and the society have the right to demand that the nation's educational system produce responsible, competent citizens. In order to measure up to the requirements of American society and share in the benefits available in this society, students require such curricular elements as—

    Adequate vocational, technical, or college preparatory training. Sufficient counselors should be available to permit study of each student's vocational interests and abilities in relation to projections of the national and regional employment markets. Counselors must be aware of the myriad occupations now existing and the areas in which more are rapidly appearing. They should be particularly well-informed about occupations that will be suited to the kinds of students who make up the school population when their abilities are developed to the fullest. The school should utilize the many sources of learning outside the school by giving students the opportunity to observe and talk to workers in many areas of employment, either on field trips or within the school. In particular, minority-group students should have the opportunity to meet minority-group workers in middle echelon jobs. The vocational and technical program should have completely modern and appropriate equipment, and the curriculum should be suited to the modern, changing job market. Representatives of business, industry, and governmental agencies should be consulted to ensure that the vocational curriculum is and remains relevant. Work-study programs should be offered in order to relate the school program to vocational and technical realities, provide vocational experience, and enable students to earn money and remain in school simultaneously. The school should offer placement services to the student upon graduation. At least two years of postsecondary academic or vocational-technical education should be available to every student.

Preparation to live sanely in a competitive society. All students can benefit from understanding techniques of taking tests. Adequate mental health programs, including the services of psychiatrists and psychologists for children with mental or emotional disorders and regular classroom instruction in social adjustment, must be provided in every school. Wherever possible, students should have the opportunity to experience the kind of competition they will have to meet in the world beyond the school.

Education in minority-group history and in human rights and human relations—in suburbs as well as in urban and rural areas—in order to live productively in a multicultural society. The techniques of sensitivity training can be especially valuable in providing students with the attitudes and skills necessary for good human relations.

13. *The schools must obtain suitable staff for the provision of quality education.* Federal legislation has provided for much more nearly adequate school staffing than was previously

possible. We recommend that school systems take advantage of all available resources to employ—

Sufficient counseling staff to permit the evaluation of the educational and emotional needs of every student and the recommendation of action based on those individual needs.

Sufficient professional personnel to meet the needs of students in such areas as mental and physical health.

Paraprofessional staff to assist the teachers and to provide new dimensions to the school experience.

At least enough fully prepared teachers for special federally funded programs, such as Head Start, to provide full supervision.

Teachers who are specially prepared to educate the type of students who make up the school population, such as specialists in teaching the disadvantaged and bilingual teachers for areas in which English is not the home language of the child.

14. *The education profession must assume its responsibility to ensure the use of appropriate teaching materials, including tests, in every school.* Educators must demand that school systems provide teaching materials relevant to the student population and designed to enhance the self-respect of minority-group students and to instill in majority-group students an awareness of the value of a multicultural society.

Textbook selection committees should include members from minority groups, who are likely to be particularly able to judge the effects of a presentation on students from their groups.

Testing programs used to evaluate the intelligence and English language ability of minority-group students should be valid and reliable in relation to those students.

Bilingual materials must be used in locations where the students' family language is not English but, for example, Spanish or Navajo or French. State laws inconsistent with this principle must be repealed.

School Policies

The educational institution has a responsibility to respect human rights not only by preparing all students adequately for adult life, but also by promoting the rights of students and teachers within the schools.

15. *Working conditions must be made such as to attract talented people into preparation for and acceptance of teaching positions in locations where much of the population is disadvantaged.* It is the responsibility of the appropriate professional education association to work for such conditions and the necessary funds through professional negotiation and political action.

16. *Teachers must promote the human rights of students.* We recommend that the individual teacher strive to increase the self-respect and motivation of students:

    For example . . .

    By taking time to talk to individual students about themselves and what is of interest to them.

    By finding out what students want the school to do for them.

    By encouraging students to share in selection from among suggested projects, units of study, and ways of approaching topics of study.

    By encouraging the development of school discipline policies which promote responsible citizenship.

    By refraining from the humiliation of students and undue emphasis on their offenses.

    By refraining from ridiculing students because of differences in speech, dress, mannerisms, or other differentiating practices.

    By showing respect for all areas of employment.

17. *Schools must respect the practices and prohibitions of the religious groups represented in the student body and arrange for student discussion of the relation between religious respect and the provision of human rights.* Concern for the rights of religious groups can be the occasion of introducing discussion of all human rights and means of conserving them. We recommend that schools avoid trespassing on the rights of religious groups:

    For example . . .

    By taking account of religious holidays when making up the school calendar for the year.

By honoring religious prohibitions affecting children in the school, such as regulations of dress, diet, or conduct.

Community

School board members and administrators, teachers, local education associations, and institutions of higher education all have the ability to contribute to the improvement of their communities and have the obligation to use this ability.

18. *Programs must be established that will provide for real community involvement and will create in the community a feeling of investment in and responsibility for the operation of the schools.* A child's motivation to learn is strongly affected by the attitudes of those around him toward the school. The school program operates most smoothly in an atmosphere of support from the community. To provide the best possible attitudes and atmosphere, we recommend—

    Establishment of a structure of proportionate representation on governing boards that will make possible a proper community voice in school decision making.

    Encouragement of proportionate representation in the power structures of the political parties.

    Provision for community representation on examining boards, to give minority groups an opportunity to participate in the selection of the teachers of their children.

    Creation of means by which parents share in the education which their children are receiving.

    Establishment of comprehensive programs which provide relevant educational opportunities for all age groups.

    Employment of human relations specialists to act as school-community coordinators, possibly with the aid of federal funds. Employment of bilingual pupil personnel workers is necessary in bilingual areas.

    Establishment of imaginative summer programs designed to meet the actual needs of both students and adults in the community.

19. *Individual educators must begin now to establish cooperation between the school and the community.* Through such cooperation the educator will help improve school and community alike and increase the student's opportunity to

benefit from education. We recommend certain actions which every educator can take at once:

Ascertain real community needs and respond to them in a manner consistent with the principles of human rights.

Find out what groups in the community are doing to improve the community and participate actively in these projects.

Register to vote and work for political measures and candidates that will improve conditions in minority-group communities as well as in schools.

20. *Educators should take immediate action through local professional associations to improve conditions in their communities.* By sharing their strength and invoking the prestige of the education profession, educators can accomplish many things they could not achieve as individuals. We recommend that local professional associations—

Act to obtain equality of educational opportunity—equality of educational excellence—in their schools.

Enforce the principle that the schools exist to educate children, not to subjugate the community—particularly in those areas where the schools are used as political weapons and where school positions are items of political patronage.

Actively promote such measures as passage and enforcement of open housing, equal employment opportunity, and other civil rights legislation.

Take action, in localities where it is difficult for members of minority groups to register and vote without intimidation, to protect the right of every citizen to vote as he sees fit without fear of reprisal.

Study applicable NEA resolutions—for example, those on the teacher as a citizen (67-2), expansion of educational opportunity (67-3), urban educational problems (67-8), desegregation in the public schools (67-12), and fair housing (67-13) (see Appendix); support them with resolutions of the local association appropriate to the local situation; and find means of implementing them in the community.

Establish an agency of the association to be specifically responsible for working with civic, community, and church groups for the benefit of both the community and the schools, and seek membership on local community relations councils. Where no such councils exist, education associations should mobilize support among individuals and groups of the community to establish them.

21. *Research and experimental programs should be conducted to determine the most effective means of establishing good school-community relations.* Such programs could be conducted by colleges and universities in cooperation with community groups and education associations, with federal funding. We recommend projects such as—

    For example . . .

    Provision of group therapy for parents and school personnel together.

    Human relations education for members of the community in adult education courses, and for members of the school staff in in-service workshops and clinics.

B. PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

The Task Force recommends that the NEA and its affiliates institute programs of direct action with such objectives as those which follow.

Radical Improvement in Urban Education

The distinctive characteristics of the inner-city school make it necessary to develop new methods and structures in order to provide appropriate education.

1. *Formulate a package plan which will give guidance to schools and teachers in solving the most prevalent problems of education in the inner city.* The plan should be highly flexible, including different suggestions to fit different situations in each of the areas dealt with—for example, curriculum, staffing and teacher assignment, necessary auxiliary and specialized professional personnel, class size, and use of the resources of local colleges and universities. These suggestions should include new approaches to difficult problems—for example, assumption by the education association of responsibility for teacher assignment and transfer. A

project now under way—in which the NEA Center for the Study of Instruction is working with the Montgomery County, Maryland, and Anniston, Alabama, school systems "to develop an action model for the Anniston schools from a comprehensive theoretical framework"—could be one resource for the formulation of the plan. It is important that the plan be created now, to benefit children who are in school now. Its flexibility will leave room for continual improvement as knowledge of the subject increases.

2. *Design an ideal inner-city school and put it into operation.* Planning of the school should involve authorities on urban education and should take into account such factors as the educational advantages provided middle class children in their homes and the positive qualities urban children derive from their environment. After permission to operate a school is obtained from the city selected for the project, the community should be involved in the planning of the school and the staff should be carefully selected from among volunteers according to standards of competence in urban education. Funds for the project could be obtained from the federal government—perhaps through the Model Cities program—or from a private foundation. In connection with the development of the project, NEA should cooperate with colleges and universities in sponsoring federally funded demonstration schools in the inner city and projects developed to utilize the resources of Titles I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
3. *Investigate and evaluate proposals and projects which provide an equitable share of responsibility for school decision making to the Indian, the Mexican-American, and the Negro communities, and support those judged practicable and educationally sound.* NEA has long supported the concept of local control of the schools. Communities which do not participate in the majority culture must be given the power to ensure that their children are equipped to compete as equals in the American civilization and to retain their individual and cultural self-respect.

Evaluation of Teaching Materials

Teaching materials have a crucial effect on the student's perception of himself, the American civilization, and the world.

4. *Establish or designate an agency to identify and encourage use of effective multi-ethnic teaching materials.* Materials containing adequate and fair representation of minority groups in both social studies and other disciplines should be listed and described in periodic reports resulting from continuous evaluation based upon specific standards.

Integration of Student Populations and Faculties

Professional education associations must develop the power and assume the responsibility to curtail exclusion of minority groups from any school or class.

5. *Vigorously encourage government to promote effective integration throughout the nation.*

   For example . . .

   Support implementation of the educationally and sociologically sound sections of the federal guidelines for school desegregation and resultant court decisions. The guidelines regarding freedom of choice desegregation and the closing of "inadequate" schools should be examined closely, as they have been found to preserve inequality of educational opportunity.

   Support efforts by the federal government to integrate schools in all geographic regions of the nation.

6. *Act wherever there is need to end de facto and de jure school and community segregation.*

   Make full use of professional negotiation agreements to end segregation.

   Introduce and support legislation to end segregation.

   Publicly expose and censure communities that have rejected federal aid to their schools or taken other measures in order to postpone integration of their schools.

   Study and publish the extent to which de facto segregation affects children now in school and the probable consequences of continued racial isolation. Evaluate methods of alleviating de facto segregation and the inequities it creates, and advocate those considered effective.

Commend school systems which have acted creatively or courageously to end segregation and publish the benefits systems have derived from integration.

File complaints about faculty segregation with national or state Civil Rights Commissions and maintain surveillance of the implementation of resultant court orders.

Evaluate and report on the activities of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in promoting school desegregation, both in general and in particular situations.

Application of Professional Sanctions To Protect Human Rights

7. *Apply sanctions to any agency that infringes the rights of children or school personnel.*

   For example . . .

   Individual schools or systems that are found to be infringing human rights, in such ways as by preserving segregation or by dismissing staff members because of race or of civil rights activities.

   Administrators or school boards found to be infringing human rights.

   Local or state affiliates found to be infringing human rights or found to be failing to take action against infringements of human rights within their sphere of action.

   Companies which knowingly allow state agencies to use their products to implement discriminatory practices.

8. *Deny membership to any teacher or administrator who is found to have withheld human rights from students or staff members by action, inaction, or pattern of speech.* The infringement of human rights is neither ethical nor professional. The NEA Code of Ethics states that the professional educator "shall not on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin exclude any student from participation in or deny him benefits under any program" and that he "shall accord just and equitable treatment to all members of the profession in the exercise of their professional rights and responsibilities." Any member of a professional organization found to have withheld human rights should be expelled. Any nonmember so found should be denied membership at all levels.

Effective Funding of the Educational Program

Funding of governmental programs of aid to education not only must be adequate but must give proper emphasis to educational value and the protection of human rights.

9. *Encourage initiation, passage, and adequate funding of legislation on all levels that will improve education and increase recognition of human rights in education.*

   For example . . .

   Adequate funding of such legislation as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Education Professions Development Act and of such programs as Head Start.

   Allocation of federal funds for basic as well as supplementary educational needs—teachers' salaries, school buildings, and textbooks.

   Continuation of categorical federal aid until all states have demonstrated their willingness to use federal funds to promote quality integrated education.

   Provision of adequate discretionary per pupil allocations to urban school systems to make educational opportunities there as complete and as appropriate as in the suburbs.

   Amendment of the Education Professions Development Act to place more emphasis on the funding of proposals for preparing teachers now in service to teach in integrated situations and for providing teachers with human relations skills.

   Amendment of the Civil Rights Act to permit the funding of proposals by groups other than public educational agencies for preparing teachers to work in integrated situations.

   Enabling legislation for bilingual teaching in every state where it is relevant.

10. *Assume responsibility for guiding federal programs in the directions that will most improve the education provided America's students.*

    For example . . .

    Regularly evaluate the uses made of federal educational funds and use the influence of the education profession to ensure that they are well spent.

Work to ensure that state advisory committees established to review the use of federal funds are independent of state departments of education and other external influences and represent the best judgment of the educators in each state.

Assign staff to evaluate all titles of education acts and make recommendations to members of Congress for their improvement.

11. *Provide advice and instruction to affiliates and school systems in obtaining federal grants.*

    Make available information concerning the kinds of projects that are suitable for funding under each program.

    Provide guidance in the writing of proposals.

Protection of the Rights and Standards of the Education Profession

Educators cannot do their best work unless they, the school board, and the public recognize their professional status.

12. *Demand for professional education associations, through professional negotiations, a full share in the development of all school policies affecting the educational program and the conditions under which teachers render professional service.* Such policies must include the protection of student and teacher human rights.

13. *Clearly establish the goals and standards of the education profession in order to create in educators a sense of their professional accountability.*

    Individual educators are responsible to the profession as a whole for doing everything in their power to help every child learn, regardless of any adverse conditions.

    Professional education associations are responsible to the profession as a whole for creating in educators an awareness of their obligation to their students and to their roles as professional educators.

14. *Urge the introduction and passage of legislation that will secure the professional rights and improve the professional standards of educators.*

    For example . . .

    Enabling legislation for school districts to enter into professional negotiation with groups of educators.

Legislation requiring the establishment of state professional standards boards adjunct to the state department of education, to deal with policies on licensing, waiver of any certification requirement, teacher assignment, and accreditation and improvement of preservice and continuing teacher education.

Legislation assigning the profession, through legally constituted professional practices commissions, responsibility for determining what is ethical or competent in any given case and for establishing a body of precedent in such matters.

Legislation providing that teachers, even during the probationary period, cannot be dismissed without due process, providing tenure for teachers after a probationary period, and providing for reciprocity in tenure between and among states.

15. *Continue and extend defense of the civil and human rights of educators.*

    For example . . .

    Give financial support, assistance in finding employment, and legal protection to educators who have been unjustly dismissed, particularly because of race or of school protest or other civil rights activities.

    Vigorously discourage the use of such tests as the National Teacher Examination (NTE) to evaluate teachers in service for purposes of establishing position or salary. Conduct and report on an extensive evaluation of NTE and other qualifying examinations which are used as sole criteria for decisions on certification or salary differential.

16. *Use litigation to attack infringements of human rights.* An overall national strategy for defending and promoting human rights through recourse to law should be planned and should be carried out through the filing of affirmative lawsuits, that is, lawsuits in which the particular case of infringement and the jurisdiction are carefully selected to afford the suit maximum impact.

Development and Dissemination of Information on Human Rights and Human Relations

Education associations can help inform both educators and the public on human rights problems and means of alleviating them.

17. *Conduct workshops on human and intergroup relations, and on group dynamics.* Such workshops should include meetings of majority and minority, or urban and suburban, groups together and separately.

18. *Use professional journals in education as one means of fulfilling the responsibility for informing educators about human rights and human relations.* National and state journals should exchange materials and maintain continuing features on these topics:

    For example . . .

    What educators can do to improve human relations and secure human rights.

    What educators are doing in these areas.

    What challenges of human rights and breaks in human relations occur in the schools, and how they are handled.

19. *Sponsor research projects designed to obtain the knowledge necessary for the provision of appropriate education and make the results available to teachers.* Such research could be conducted by the research facilities of the professional organization or by foundations or doctoral students.

    For example . . .

    Studies of the composition of the population, school population, and school staff in disadvantaged locations in order to identify clearly educational problems in those locations. The trend toward exclusion of data on race from school records precludes the formulation of realistic research or planning, and the general reluctance of school systems to permit research in which race is an important variable cripples the development of educational knowledge that is needed today.

    Studies of the inability of schools to provide individualized instruction or nongraded teaching as a basis of finding means of rendering social promotion—promotion without regard to educational progress—unnecessary.

    Studies of examinations used to screen applicants for employment. These examinations should be studied and evaluated so that possible improvements can be recommended and also so that vocational education programs can prepare students to pass such examinations.

20. *Establish cooperative relationships with other groups concerned with education.* Alliances with groups concerned with the provision of quality education can result in implementation of programs that will increase equality of educational opportunity.

    For example . . .

    Cooperation with state departments of education. The instructional knowledge and data resources of the NEA can be valuable to state departments in planning and implementation of programs.

    Cooperation with nonpublic schools. Cooperation in the use of the resources of public and nonpublic schools can increase the effectiveness of both and make possible special programs for disadvantaged children.

    Cooperation with organizations in other disciplines, such as social science and psychology. The information resources of other disciplines can be extremely valuable in the NEA's effort to promote human rights.

21. *Design and carry out projects that will inform the public about what human rights are and how they can be secured.*

    Use the mass media to demonstrate the importance of human rights to the future of the nation and the value to a society of full participation by many varied cultures.

    Make known the policies of the NEA and its affiliates on issues affecting human rights, both in the field of education and in related areas such as housing.

    Produce publications describing the human rights activities of civic, community, and public service groups.

    Produce appropriate material explaining to minority groups the forms of legal, medical, educational, financial, and employment assistance available to them, and how they can take advantage of these.

    Make known to educators and to the general public that NEA and its affiliates make resources and support available to educators whose civil or human rights are threatened.

    Use radio and television to demonstrate the use of integrated group therapy to increase understanding among racial and ethnic groups.

C. STRUCTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

NEA Center for Human Relations

The educational institution has great ability and great responsibility. The NEA, an influential force within that institution, moving with the strength of more than a million teachers, is potentially able to protect the human rights, not only of those teachers, but also of many times that many children.

To actualize that ability, a viable structure is needed through which the NEA, through all its activities, can encourage and enable all its members to direct their abilities and their professional skills to the realization of the American ideal.

The Task Force on Human Rights recommends that in order to provide such a structure the NEA establish a Center for Human Relations to coordinate and implement NEA Resolutions and existing NEA policy statements relevant to human rights. The responsibilities of this unit would be unique in coordinating efforts of the entire organization to reach a single goal—the protection of human rights in and through education. The structure for the Center recommended by the Task Force is therefore also unique, most significantly in the designation of staff within each Headquarters unit to be responsible for the human rights activities of that unit.

The Task Force suggests that the Center for Human Relations work in five areas:

> Planning and carrying out NEA's efforts in the broad area of human relations
>
> Coordination of the human rights efforts of the internal units of the NEA
>
> Coordination through the regional field offices of NEA's human rights programs throughout the nation
>
> Planning of human rights activities in cooperation with organizations outside the NEA
>
> Development of innovative programs which lead to the reduction of problems arising from mergers of local and state NEA affiliates.

The proposed Center would undertake the work presently carried out by the staff of the Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators.

The Headquarters staff of the Center as proposed would consist of an assistant executive secretary and director of the Center; an associate director; internal and external coordinators; assistant directors; program assistants; an administrative assistant; and additional staff as determined by program needs.

> In addition to his duties as second executive, the associate director of the Center would be responsible for the coordination of the human rights activities of NEA in the field through the regional offices.
>
> The external coordinator would be assigned to meet with representatives of organizations outside the NEA to create cooperative programs in the area of human rights and to eliminate duplication of effort.
>
> The internal coordinator would work with one or more staff members from each NEA Headquarters unit assigned responsibility for ensuring that the unit carry out whatever human rights programs are appropriate and that all its programs are consonant with the protection and advancement of human rights.
>
> Assistant directors of the Center would work with the associate director and coordinators on the development and implementation of programs.

The Task Force proposes that staff of the Center based outside of NEA Headquarters include human relations staff employed in the NEA regional field offices and that provision be made for the employment of legal, human rights, and other consultants whenever and wherever they are needed.

The Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee

The Task Force proposes that an Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee be appointed to give support and guidance to the staff of the Center in the early stages of its operation. As envisioned by the Task Force, the Committee would have seven members appointed by the Executive Committee upon recommendation of the NEA president and would include some members of the present Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators.

Staff Advisory Committee

The Task Force suggests that the Human Relations Center have as a resource an eight-man body of staff consultants and that this

Advisory Committee be composed of the executive secretaries of the Association of Classroom Teachers, the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, the Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, the Legislative Commission, the National Council of State Education Associations, one of the three administrators organizations connected with the NEA (the American Association of School Administrators, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and the Department of Elementary School Principals), and the Division of Urban and Field Services, and the director of the National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science.

Appendix:

NEA RESOLUTIONS RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS

67-2. THE TEACHER AS A CITIZEN

The National Education Association believes that every teacher has the right and obligation to be an informed and active citizen. It therefore recommends that every educational system in written personnel policies guarantee to all its teachers full equality with other citizens in the exercise of their political rights and responsibilities, including such activities as performing jury duty, voting, discussing political issues, campaigning for candidates, and running for and serving in public office. Provisions should be made to enable teachers to serve in public office without personal loss and without curtailment of annual increments or tenure, retirement, or seniority rights.

One prerequisite to high quality in education is acceptance by the community and by governing bodies of their responsibility in recognizing the political and professional status and rights of teachers. Another prerequisite is the exercise by teachers of these rights and responsibilities. The Association stands ready to support any teacher whose status or rights have been unfairly menaced or restricted. Such support the Association regards as a major obligation of professional organizations.

Many of the objectives which the organized profession has set for the improvement of education can be achieved only with the active support of its members in influencing public decisions. Therefore, the willingness of the teacher to assert himself fully as a citizen, including active political participation, is vital to the pursuit of high quality in education.

67-3. EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The National Education Association affirms the principle that the home and family are the basic unit in our free society and that parents have prime responsibility for the character development of their children.

It also believes that the general system of universal public education should be expanded. To these ends the Association recommends that support be sought at all levels of government to extend the opportunity for education at public expense downward to the age of four. In programs properly designed for children of these ages, schools can join with and enrich the efforts of home and family in educating children.

The Association further recommends that educational opportunity extend for at least two years beyond the high school for all high school graduates. These opportunities should be supported by local, state, commonwealth, and national appropriations and should be provided free of tuition charges. Further, the Association encourages and supports a strong education program for adults of all ages.

67-8. URBAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

The special problems of American urban areas present a severe challenge to all public agencies, especially the public schools. In view of the expanding urbanization of American life, the fate of urban areas is increasingly the concern of all Americans. Urban problems, therefore, call for urgent attention from the associations of the teaching profession.

The efforts of educators to deal with these problems have been impressive in size and intensity. The fact must be faced, however, that these efforts have not generally succeeded. Teachers, feeling that the odds against them and their pupils are overwhelming, continue to be of low morale. Classes persist in being too large for effective services to pupils whose needs are especially great. Administrators are harassed by conflicting pressures and inadequate means. Children and parents often see little reason for trying; some feel little stake in American society. The tragedy of widespread misery, blunted aspirations, and wasted talents continues, and the alienation of many disadvantaged Americans from society bodes ill for the nation's strength, unity, stability, and progress.

Among the many grievous problems now plaguing American cities, none is greater or more difficult to solve than the de facto segregation which is presently increasing in nearly all of the major cities. This form of segregation results from social customs and economic conditions. In the past, inner city schools have provided quality education. Today, despite great effort, many such schools are providing inadequate education. The Association believes that these schools should receive higher-than-average funds to provide increases in staff and instructional materials to carry out present programs and more compensatory education.

In addition, the Association believes that education must transcend present patterns of urban school organization, programs, and staff. While not abandoning the concept of the neighborhood school, the Association calls for bold experimentation with pupil transportation, specialized schools of high quality, educational parks, and metropolitan-area school districts. To attract teachers with the highest professional qualifications and to meet the needs of the urban child calls for high salary schedules and economic benefits, a wide variety of supporting services, and more equipment and instructional materials.

All schools need greater resources. To enable urban schools to meet their responsibility requires a massive financial investment by city, state, and national governments. The Association calls upon state and local affiliates to lead in developing such programs and directs its officers and staff to become deeply involved with all agencies concerned, to supply needed research, and to seek appropriate legislation.

The Association reiterates its belief that cross-racial experiences form an essential part of the education of every pupil. Where such experiences can be provided by altering school enrollments, by busing pupils, or by establishing educational parks, these remedies should be sought. The Association cautions, however, that there are cities in the nation where no redistribution of pupils will achieve truly integrated education. Where, for example, the white children in a public school system constitute a minority, no redistribution of the children can accomplish the desired ends. In such places special efforts are needed. The Association supports court action to secure general recognition of the fact that in such places the fixing of the political boundaries by statute is tantamount to deprivation of equal protection of the laws for some persons. There should also be vigorous administrative efforts to ameliorate existing conditions; where school enrollments cannot be adjusted, it may be possible to partially compensate by area-wide interchanges of pupils in other sorts of activities, such as athletic, cultural, recreational, or social events.

As a further move to promote cross-racial experiences which are an essential part of the education program of every pupil, the Association urges the Congress to pass legislation to see that the guidelines for desegregation as issued by HEW be applied equally in all fifty states.

All concerned, including citizens and school officials in suburban and rural areas, must cooperate in the general effort. The price of failure will be borne by all; the benefits of success will accrue to all.

67-12. DESEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Individual worth derives from quality as a person, not from origin in race, creed, or class. The strength of America rests upon the utilization of the human resources of all.

Individual personality is enhanced and the national interest furthered by educational opportunity which involves children, formally and informally, in diverse cultures.

Education must seek to eliminate prejudice and bigotry from the public mind, support democratic principles and the free society which embodies them, and uphold respect for law, protection of individual rights, and use of democratic processes to effect change.

a. Civil Rights

The Association calls upon Americans to eliminate by statute and practice barriers of race, national origin, religion, sex, and economic status which prevent some citizens from exercising rights that are enjoyed by others, including liberties defined in common law and the Constitution and statutes of the United States. All individuals must have access to public education, to the voting booth, and to all services provided at public expense.

b. School Desegregation and Integration

The Association endorses the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Brown vs. Board of Education and urges compliance with subsequent federal laws and regulations in this area. The Association recommends that policies and guideline statements for school desegregation should be in keeping with the intent and provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and should be uniformly applicable throughout the nation's schools. Schools educating children in formerly segregated systems, those serving children of migrant workers, and those where the family language is other than English should receive sufficient funds, equipment, materials, and staff to carry out programs leading to quality education. It directs its state and local affiliates to seek in all communities adherence to the spirit and the letter of the law.

c. Personnel Practices in Education

The Association believes that the important criteria for evaluating educators for employment, retention, or promotion are professional competence, successful experience, and ethical practice. The Association calls upon all local affiliates to secure and enforce personnel policies and practices which embody this belief. It urges all American school boards to adopt such policies and practices. It calls for activities that will assist all educators to have access to employment opportunities such as NEA* SEARCH and the DuShane Fund for Teacher Rights.

d. Housing for Educators

The Association believes that all educators should be free to reside in the communities of their choice and calls upon all local affiliates to lead in breaking down barriers which limit this freedom.

e. Minorities in Textbooks

The Association believes that educational materials—textbooks, reference materials, audiovisual materials, and supplementary reading in all subjects—should portray our cultural diversity and the achievements of minority groups and calls upon all state and local affiliates to focus the professional judgment of their members upon this imperative.

f. Merger of State and Local Affiliates

The Association believes every educator has the right to participate fully in the professional association of his choice in any community or state. This right shall not be denied by constitution or practice on racial grounds. The Association notes that all previously segregated associations now affiliated have either merged or are merging according to requirements of the Executive Committee. It commends these associations. It recognizes that much remains to be done to bring legalisms to life. It directs the officers and staff to continue to provide leadership and assistance and charges the Executive Committee to complete the task and intent outlined by Resolution 66-12.

g. Protection of Minorities in Associations

The Association calls upon all affiliates to provide avenues for participation by all members. Members of minority groups should have positions on committees, opportunity to attain leadership, and the right to represent their local and state associations. Each affiliate should adopt policies and/or establish constitutional procedures and structures through which minority groups can express and resolve grievances arising from association practices. The officers and staff of the NEA should develop procedures for mediation whenever necessary.

h. Implementation

Responsibility for implementation rests with the Executive Committee. It shall direct the Executive Secretary to develop programs of implementation, those which innovate and those which correlate existing activities. The Executive Secretary shall assign staff responsibilities as needed and shall involve in these efforts all agencies of the Association, its affiliates, and other public and private agencies. Implementation of this resolution shall be a major charge upon every officer and staff member of the Association.

In any region, state, or school system in the United States where educators of more than one race are employed, no unit of the Association shall allocate Association funds for or arrange or engage in any activity, program, meeting, or conference in which the participation of members of minority groups is in any manner impeded.

67-13. FAIR HOUSING

The National Education Association believes that fair housing practices will do much to alleviate environmental conditions detrimental to the education of our youth. We believe universal fair housing practices will aid in bringing about a truly universal public education.

We commend those communities which have taken positive steps to correct existing deficiencies in housing practices and urge all local associations, in cooperation with community agencies, to develop and promote practicable programs to implement fair housing practices in every community.

We further urge legislatures of the states and commonwealths and members of Congress to provide legislation which will assure each citizen equal rights and opportunities to reside in a neighborhood of his choice.

68-21. HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER

The National Education Association recognizes that tensions existing in community life affect the public schools and educators. It appreciates the tremendous achievements of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities and its Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators in defense of teachers and schools. It is convinced, however, that the broad problems and issues relating to human relations in the public schools and professional associations are of sufficient urgency and gravity to demand a unit and staff empowered to devote full time to problems in this area. It endorses the establishment of the Center for Human Relations and urges that the recommendations of the Task Force on Human Rights be implemented.

The Association supports continued involvement of its members in giving support and guidance to the staff of the Center in its operations.

RELATED NEA PUBLICATIONS

A Bibliography of Multi-Ethnic Textbooks and Supplementary Materials. 1966. (161-05068)

Faculty Desegregation. Report on Four Southern Regional Conferences. 1966. (161-05066)

Impact of Model Cities on the School System. Report of the PR&R Committee Conference on Model Cities Program. 1967. (163-05054)

Report of Task Force Survey of Teacher Displacement in Seventeen States. 1965. (161-05064)

The Local Association Observes Negro History Week. 1966. (125-04376)

Single copies of the above publications may be obtained without cost from NEA's Human Relations Center. Requests should include numbers in parentheses.

The following publications should be ordered from NEA's Publications-Sales Section. Orders should include numbers in parentheses.

As the Child Reads . . . Report on the Fourth National NEA-PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education: "The Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks and Other Teaching Materials." 1967. 50¢.* (161-05072)

An Index to Multi-Ethnic Teaching Materials and Teacher Resources. 1967. 35¢. (161-04938)

The Invisible Minority . . . Pero No Vencibles. Report of the NEA-Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking. 1966. $1. (451-14746)

Issues and Alternatives. Report of the Fifth National NEA-PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education: "Equality of Educational Opportunity as Affected by Public School Personnel Policies." 1968. 50¢.* (161-05028)

Las Voces Nuevas del Sudoeste. Report of the Third National NEA-PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education: "The Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest." 1966. 50¢. (161-04932)

The Negro American in Paperback. A selected list of paperbound books compiled and annotated for secondary school students. 1968. 35¢.* (381-11796)

The Negro in American History. Full-color filmstrip with 33⅓ rpm record of narration and music, plus script and presentation guide. Part 1: Legacy of Honor; Part 2: Suggestions for Teaching. 1966. $7.* (388-11776)

The Teacher and Integration. 1966. Cloth, $2.50. (381-11762); paper, $1.50. (381-11760)

"We've Promises to Keep . . ." Toward Equal Opportunity. 1968. 25¢.* (161-04946)

*Discounts on quantity orders: 2-9 copies, 10 percent; 10 or more copies, 20 percent.

Teacher Education: The Young Teacher's View. Report of Four Regional Conferences for Student Teachers and Beginning Teachers of the Disadvantaged. 1968. $1.50. Order directly from NDEA-AACTE, Room 804, National Education Association.

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